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KOMMUNIST

No 6, APRIL 1987

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SOVIET UNION

KOMMUNIST

No 6, April 1987

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CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE ADDRESS TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 3-9

[Text] Dear comrades!

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is approaching. This is a major holiday of the Soviet people.

Our revolution is the most outstanding event of the 20th century, an event which announced the beginning of a new era in the life of mankind. Time profoundly revealed its permanent significance and shed light on the tremendous opportunities opened by socialist social development.

In our awareness and feelings, the October Revolution is an object of the highest national pride of the Soviet people. It marked an unparalleled takeoff in the historical creativity of the masses, a starry hour of the victorious people who broke the chains of capitalist and landowners' exploitation.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin stood at the head of the Bolshevik Party which led the working class and the working people in Russia to a revolutionary exploit. His theoretical thinking and moral example and the results of his gigantic activities will live through the centuries.

The Great October Revolution is continuing today. A restructuring, an essentially revolutionary constructive work is developing in the country. Its purpose is to accelerate the progress of socialist society. This is the purpose of the party's political line, which expresses the will of the people, the line of the April Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress.

Major decisions of essential importance were made at the January Central Committee Plenum. They arm the party and the people with the theory of restructuring and mobilize them for more profound reforms and daring steps aimed at giving socialism the most advanced forms of social organization.

Our country was the first to put socialism to practical use. The victory of the October Revolution laid the historically unique foundations of the people's social life: the power of the working people in politics; public ownership of means of production in economics; and collectivism and comradely mutual aid in human relations. These revolutionary changes are the very beginning, the inexhaustible source of vital strength of the socialist system.

The Great October Revolution and socialism rescued our homeland from ills and calamities which are poisoning to this day the lives of people in many countries throughout the world. No exploitation of man by man exists in our country. There is no unemployment or national oppression. There is no poverty and illiteracy. The working people live under conditions of social protection and confidence in the future.

That was the purpose of the October Revolution and that is the purpose of socialism.

In the course of building socialism our country became a powerful industrial state with a mighty economic and scientific and technical potential. It reached one of the highest levels of education of the masses in the world. Sufficiency has arrived in the house of the working people. Free medical services, state concern for motherhood and childhood and for war and labor veterans and the old are now considered standards. Every single day thousands of families move into new homes.

Tremendous cultural changes have taken place in the country. Socialism is seen by the world as a system which can offer a humanistic alternative to the inhumanity, violence and spiritual devastation of bourgeois society; it is a system which preserves and multiplies the true values of civilization and, by virtue of this ability and orientation, which rejects a culture based on commercialism and profit.

Today we are undertaking to raise the Soviet economy to the highest global level of efficiency and scientific and technical progress. This will significantly broaden the base for the further growth of the people's well-being and for the comprehensive development of all members of society and the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people.

The road to this was opened by the October Revolution, by socialism.

Victory in the socialist revolution granted the working person real rights and freedoms. It established the rule by soviets, which are a democratic form of state life discovered by the people themselves. The Soviet political system offers all the necessary prerequisites for the maximal development of democracy and people's initiative.

This system was born of the October Revolution and created by socialism.

The revolution laid the foundations for the solution of the national problem in our country. Under the Soviet system the equality of nations and fraternal cooperation among them became facts. The economy and culture of all republics were enhanced. A single Soviet people developed, proud of their common accomplishments and ready to defend socialist gains from any hostile attempts.

Like any active project, the advancement of national relations raises new problems. They are being solved and will continue to be solved on the basis of the principles of Leninist national policy, which is sensitive to anything affecting national interests and intolerant of any nationalistic and chauvinistic manifestations.

The country's progress is and will continue to be for the good of all nations and nationalities, in the interest of their further rapprochement and of our inviolable union. The peoples of the USSR are united in firm friendship, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

This was given to us by the October Revolution and socialism.

We live in a world which has experienced deep changes under the influence of our revolution. Already now more than one-third of mankind has broken the fetters of capitalist exploitation. Socialism exists and develops and is strengthening as a global system. Colonial empires no longer exist. Dozens of young sovereign countries have taken their place.

The forces of the international proletariat, whose interests are expressed by Marxist-Leninist communist and worker parties, have multiplied. Mass democratic, anti-imperialist and antiwar movements are developing. The general crisis of capitalism is intensifying.

The present sociopolitical aspect of the world is the legitimate result of a historical process the beginning of which was laid by the October Revolution.

It was Vladimir Ilich Lenin who guided our first steps in building socialism. He is with us to this day: increasingly the restructuring is asserting the revolutionary Leninist spirit in the life of the party and the country.

Also with us today are all of those who dedicated themselves to the great cause of socialism. The grateful Soviet people will remember forever the Leninist revolutionaries, Ilich's fellow-workers, who established the heroic traditions of bolshevism and, despite all difficulties and trials, remained unshakably loyal to the ideals of communism.

The names and personalities of the participants in the three Russian revolutions, of those who broke down the power of landowners and capitalists in October 1917, will not be forgotten.

We preserve the sacred memory of the heroes of the civil war, of those who defended the Soviet Republic against the imperialist interventionists and the White Guards. Our people will not forget the foreign fighters-internationalists who raised the slogan "Hands Off of Soviet Russia!," and who took up the armed defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

Our admiration of the accomplishments of the enthusiasts of the first 5-year plans, the makers of a powerful industry, the builders of a collective agriculture and the creators of socialist culture will not fade.

Soviet people, soldiers and workers, committed and immortal exploit in the Great Patriotic War. We bow to the memory of those who fell for the honor and freedom of the socialist fatherland, who gave their lives to saving mankind from the fascist plague. We remember with respect and gratitude the soldiers, patriots and antifascists in other countries—our allies and fellow-workers—in this battle of liberation.

The homeland will be always proud of the labor valor and power of the spirit of the Soviet people who, after a most difficult war, raised cities and villages from the ruins, revived the country and made it even more powerful.

Comrades!

We experienced all the difficulties and trials which await pioneers on the path of history. They did not stop us. We learned how and did surmount them.

The building of socialism began under circumstances of economic chaos and military dislocation. For nearly 3 decades the USSR was alone in opposing global capitalism, constantly subjected to imperialist pressure and blackmail. It lost 20 million of its sons and daughters and was deprived of one-third of its national wealth in the war against Hitlerite aggression. We had to work with extreme stress and live refusing ourselves even the essentials for many years. We withstood. We neither bowed nor were crushed.

However, there were other things as well. The cost of abandoning the Leninist principles and methods of building a new society, violating socialist legality and the democratic norms of life in the party and society, voluntaristic errors, dogmatism in thinking, and inertia in practical actions was high.

Stagnation trends appeared and difficulties, unresolved problems and phenomena alien to socialism began to accumulate by the turn of the eighties in our society. This was sensed and felt by the party, by the entire Soviet people. The Central Committee called for making a turn for the better in our affairs, in our entire way of life, with revolutionary resolve.

The April Plenum's course was accepted by the working people as their own. Severe self-criticism, sincerity in politics, the ability to formulate measures needed to correct the existing situation and to undertake their implementation without delay, which were restored by the party, met with broad popular support.

The 27th CPSU Congress interpreted profoundly, in a Leninist fashion, the nature of our time. It combined in its resolutions the greatness of objectives and realism in opportunities. The congress became a lesson of truth, a lesson of permanent political and moral value. The uncompromising and open assessment of anything hindering our progress is a principle-minded, a Leninist position. It is an indicator of the party's strength.

In his time Lenin said that "when we face almost entirely new tasks, it was as though new forces, unsuspected on the very eve of the change, appeared as if coming from the ground." Such is the case today: new forces, which only yesterday had not manifested themselves, are growing within the party and the people and joining in the revolutionary work of restructuring.

The country has started to move, it has gained a second breath. The moral atmosphere in society is becoming cleaner and spiritual life is becoming more interesting and varied. Openness, truthfulness, criticism and exigency are asserting themselves as intrinsic features of our daily life.

The strategy and tactics of profound restructuring of the national economy are being systematically implemented. The management of the most important economic sectors is being reorganized. The levers of the new economic mechanism are being activated. The number of labor collectives which are confidently organizing their work, such as to upgrade efficiency and profitability is increasing. Industry is being retooled. Steps are being taken radically to improve production quality. In the first year of the 5-year plan the national economy outstripped the levels planned for basic indicators.

But let us not flatter ourselves with our accomplishments. We have merely taken the initial steps while the main work lies ahead.

Are there guarantees that things will work out, that the process of restructuring will not stop and that the old errors will not be repeated?

Yes, there are. The people are interested in restructuring and the working class—the leading force in Soviet society—is deeply interested in it. The restructuring is guided by the party, which is proving its ability to struggle with revolutionary persistence for the solution of the new problems, and which is ready and able to update the ways and means of its own work.

A single aspiration and united actions by the party and the people, united on the basis of past experience, and an awareness of responsibility for the present and the future of the country are guarantees that the course charted at the 27th Congress will be followed firmly. The comprehensive development of the democratic nature of the socialist system is a guarantee that the strategic task, that reaching a new quality level by the society, will be implemented.

More democracy means more socialism.

Everything that has to be done will be done to give working people the opportunity of having a truly decisive influence on the structure and activities of state and public authorities and on the work and life of labor collectives in an atmosphere of total openness, controllability, accountability and electivity of officials. We cannot advance successfully without abandoning a style of bureaucratic administration and command, unnecessary regulations and prohibitions, without breaking the wall of official mistrust of the reasoning and experience of the people and without their proprietary and statesmanlike approach to affairs.

Socialist democracy means self-government by the people, expanding in width and depth, and the free competition among minds and talents. True democracy is constructive in nature. It is the sworn enemy of irresponsibility, demagoguery and permissiveness.

The party systematically implements the principle that no single organization or worker can remain outside control and criticism. Increasingly, people who display a modern way of thinking and who are ready to answer for their actions to the people, are being promoted to managerial positions.

By expanding democracy, strengthening socialist legality and developing the activities of soviets of people's deputies, the trade union, the Komsomol and the other social organizations, by upgrading the dignity of the individual and comprehensively protecting the rights of citizens and labor collectives, we are providing scope for the most powerful constructive force of socialism: the free labor of the free person in a free country.

Comrades!

The Central Committee calls upon all Soviet people to become imbued with an awareness and feeling of responsibility for the nature of the country in the future and for the fate of socialism. Achievements after the October Revolution, in the decade of building socialism, present a grandiose picture. However, our times present us with new challenges. Under the changed circumstances, as was emphasized at the January Central Committee Plenum, once again our society is tested for its dynamism and the ability to advance rapidly.

Our economy is being tested for efficiency, acceptance of progressive technology and ability to produce first-rate items and to withstand any competition on the world markets. Our morality, our entire way of life are being tested for their ability steadily to develop and enrich the values of socialist democracy, social justice and humanism. Our foreign policy is being tested for its firmness and consistency in defending peace and flexibility and restraint under conditions of a feverish arms race and increased international tension, encouraged by imperialism.

The entire world is looking at the Soviet people, at the homeland of the October Revolution: shall we withstand; shall we worthily answer the challenge hurled at socialism?

The Central Committee appeals to the labor honor, the professional pride of the working people, the patriotism of the Soviet people. Today we are working on implementing the 12th 5-Year Plan, which is a key aspect of the program of acceleration. Within a short time we must ensure a qualitative change the economy. We must lay a firm foundation for the future. This task is in the center of the competition in honor of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Its successful solution will depend on the personal attitude of every participant in public production, and on how demandingly will the voice of labor conscience be heard by the collectives.

Here the trade unions play a great and responsible role. The restructuring calls upon them to become tireless organizers of the working people in the struggle for a modern production standard and high professionalism.

For ages on end our land has been famous for its master workers. These were Masters with the ability to work in such a way that their fame spread throughout the world. Soviet history knows of many examples in which its workers, scientists, engineers and designers achieved results which outstripped global achievements. Today we can accomplish such feats even better.

The Central Committee appeals to the reason and experience of the Soviet people. There are no ready-made prescriptions covering all cases in life. Let restructuring become a nationwide creative laboratory. We shall attentively and critically interpret the practice of renovation. We shall value every bit of progressive experience, which we shall support and develop. Live and risky thinking are mandatory prerequisites for acceleration.

The party constantly learns from the people. It imbues its collective reason, tests its policies through the experience of the masses and deems it its obligation suitably to express the awareness of the people.

The Central Committee appeals to the courage of the Soviet people. Bringing down ossified forms, methods and customs is not easy. One must struggle for and defend restructuring. In this case we need persistence, firmness and principle-mindedness. We need character and dedication.

The courage, endurance and firmness of the Soviet people have been weighed on the scales of history and have led to victory on repeated occasions. The party is confident that such will be the case today as well.

The Central Committee appeals to the civic feelings of the Soviet people. The country is experiencing an exigent and interesting period during which each one of its citizens must make a moral choice. The project we have undertaken will not be completed if we work with indifferent hands and a cold heart. By its very essence it rejects the philistine morality of adaptation, of marginal observation, of callous consumption. Restructuring needs people who care for the work, who are exigent and intolerant of negligence and red tape. It needs political fighters, totally dedicated to the ideals of communism, people who are able to defend and increase our great social, moral and cultural values.

The party and the people have great hopes for the young with their energy, thirst for change and sharp reaction to shortcomings. The young people must be given the opportunity to prove themselves more fully in their independent work. Our time offers extensive opportunities for activities by the Komsomol, the combat and true leader of the young people, which is seeking major projects and is free from bureaucracy and excessive organization.

The Central Committee appeals to the members of the CPSU. Comrade communists, with every day of your lives, prove that you realize and share the tremendous political responsibility which has been assumed by the CPSU as the ruling party of the country, at such crucial times. Remember that the people judge the party by your actions and behavior. It is first of all you who must work with dedication, daring and innovation. The duty of the communist is to act according to his party conscience and not otherwise, always and in everything. Your individual initiative will largely determine the development of the social renovation process.

The Central Committee appeals to all Soviet people to become fully aware of the fact that our daily work and each step taken toward accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country are becoming increasingly important in global politics.

The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution will be celebrated in circumstances in which mankind itself faces the problem of survival. The future of the world—a conflicting but single and interrelated world—is being determined today. The planet can and must be saved from the threat of nuclear war. A life of safety, independence and progress can and must be ensured for all nations. In this case not everything depends on us--on the USSR, on socialism. However, we shall do all that depends on us.

The course charted by our party and state in world politics is a consistently peaceful one. We approach international problems realistically, flexibly, guided by a new style of political thinking. We shall steadily work so that on the threshold of the third millennium the countries will have eliminated nuclear weapons, prevented weapons in outer space and reduced and, in the final account, eliminated them on earth.

However, as long as the international reaction is urging on the arms race and as long as it has not abandoned the policy of social revenge and antisocialist "crusades," the CPSU and the Soviet state will do everything necessary to maintain the defense power of our country and the socialist community on the necessary level. The Soviet people can rest assured that never, under no circumstances, shall we allow imperialism to gain military superiority.

We address the entire political prestige and international influence of our country to the struggle for peace. They will be the more efficient the better things are at home, and the deeper our cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries becomes. Socialism and peace are indivisible. The more powerful socialism becomes the stronger becomes peace.

Dear comrades!

Our entire society is on the same side of the barricade. The objective of the party and the people is one. The basic interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia are one and the same. The cause of the senior generations, the veterans of building socialism and their young replacements are one and the same. The fate of each nation and nationality and each republic, of the entire Soviet Union, is a single fate.

The ideals of the October Revolution call for work for the well-being of the Soviet people, for the blossoming of the homeland, for socialism and peace. Let us merge within a single entity our minds, will-power and energy. Let us turn this invincible force to the solution of the new problems which face us. Let us implement all our plans. Let us worthily continue the revolutionary cause of the October Revolution!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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ECONOMIC THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RESTRUCTURING: A. GRANBERG AND P. BUNICH ANSWER
QUESTIONS FROM 'KOMMUNIST'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 10-19

[Text] We continue with the publication of answers by economists, initiated with No 5 of this journal for 1987. They answer the questions of the editors related to the condition and prospects of development of the science of economics under the conditions of restructuring.

1. To what extent is the science of economics ready to answer the questions which were so sharply formulated at the CPSU Congress?
2. Which of the areas of development of economic theory formulated at the congress do you consider the least developed and needing the concentrated efforts of economists?
3. Today the question has been raised of a revolutionary restructuring in the system of social relations. What is the essence of revolutionary changes in the system of production relations? In what sense can we say that such changes are not only a radical restructuring of the economic mechanism but also affect the basic structures of our economic life.
4. What role in the implementation of revolutionary changes in the economy must be played by the improved utilization of the various groups of production relations, particularly relations of ownership, the law of planned development, the basic economic law, relations of distribution according to labor, commodity-monetary relations and the law of value, cooperation and individual labor activity?
5. What is the essence of the stipulations on the creative utilization of Lenin's idea of tax-in-kind in the present restructuring? What elements of Lenin's concept of a new economic policy of the 1920s are relevant today?
6. What is the nature of full, rather than partial, socialist cost accounting from the theoretical and political-economic viewpoints? What is the nature of combining the conversion of all economic units to full cost accounting with the principles of centralized planning and management?

7. What is the new content given to the concept of social justice, which is created in the course of the radical restructuring of our entire economic life? What should be the nature of the new theoretical view on principles, such as "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," universality of labor and universal participation of working people in management on all levels? Does this new view set certain limits of economic differentiation among the member of society, social groups and regional and national formations?

On the suggestions of the editors, our authors could, if they so choose, answer all or only a few of these questions. The editors invite the readers to participate in the discussion of the problems and tasks of development of the science of economics.

A. Granberg, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member:

2. In my view, one of these trends is related to perfecting measurements. It is said that any science begins with measurement. In any case, this fully applies to the science of economics. Theory, methodology and means of measuring the studied objects and processes are necessary features of its maturity. This pertains not only to applied sectors of economic knowledge but to political economy as well.

Even the most abstract (seemingly purely "qualitative") economic categories, such as "production relations," "economic laws," and so on, are inseparable from economic measurements. For when the question of perfecting production relations is raised, it presumes the existence of a criterion, a measure of this advancement. The same could be said of objective economic laws: we must know the degree of implementation of each one of their requirements; this is a mandatory condition for converting from the abstract to the concrete. Without sufficiently accurate yardsticks we cannot test theoretical hypotheses, sum up empirical data and offer reliable forecasts and practical recommendations. We can say that economic metrology is the instrument base of the science of economics.

An essential feature of the science of economics is that the measurements it develops itself (unlike physical values it may use) are related to specific socioeconomic conditions. They are historically transient and, consequently, must be systematically updated. It is important to realize that economic measures, which reflect various types of economic interests, are elements of a specific economic mechanism.

Changes in the system of production forces and production relations determine the need for changes in the system of economic measurements. Violations of this consistency depreciate the obtained information concerning actual economic processes and, in the final account, make them ungovernable. What is the situation in this area?

The system of economic measurements which is used in the USSR (methodology, method, practical implementation) was essentially developed several decades

ago, at a time when extensive factors of economic growth were dominant, along with a relatively slow updating of output, giving priority to quantity over quality, and an economic mechanism based essentially on outlays, in which social objectives played a subordinate role. That system of economic measures was the result of certain socioeconomic conditions. It eventually and gradually became a hindrance to economic development. The conversion to a qualitatively new stage of economic growth sharply aggravates the problem of the adequacy of the economic measurements used. Economists proved to be insufficiently prepared for this situation, although many alarming symptoms had become apparent for quite some time.

Let us consider some essential problems by taking the measuring of the national income as an example, as it is the main indicator of economic growth used in statistics and planning. In this case two aspects are of essential significance: determining the structure of the goods which are part of the national income; and methods of commensurability of its various types in estimating the volume of the national income.

In accordance with the current method the "physical" composition of the national income used for consumption and accumulation purposes is limited to the output of material production sectors. This question has not been reviewed almost since the beginning of Soviet statistics despite radical changes which have taken place in the structure of public production and the way of life. We also know that for quite some time the problem of the expediency of including within the generated public product and national income the results of the work of passenger transportation, communal-consumer services and many other sectors in the service industry, whose role in solving social problems is increasing, has existed. Particularly topical today is the inclusion scientific research, experimental design and the information industry in sectors directly participating in the generation of the public product and the national income. Without this, any considerations of science as a productive force or of information resources as an important part of the national wealth, I believe, would be meaningless.

The practice of economic measurements is essentially based on the principle that "the product is an object," making an exception only in the case of the power industry and trade. On the basis of this logic, a recording tape, a video cassette or any other material carrier of information is, unquestionably, a product. However, information is not considered as such in the economic meaning of the term. Today, with a great deal of difficulty, we are merely beginning to approach the problem of the economic assessment of software products (computer software). This is one of the reasons for which the share of outlays for the development of software and a data base, compared with outlays for computers, are much lower in our country compared to developed capitalist countries. In the United States, for example, more than \$20 billion are invested in software products annually.

The unequal status (from the viewpoint of the current system of economic measures) of the most "intellectual" sectors of activity—the motive forces of the scientific and technical revolution—creates a real counteraction to their accelerated development. Since such sectors do not make a direct contribution to the volume of the public product and the national income, the temptation

arises "to upgrade the economic efficiency" by the simplest method of reducing resources allocated for the development of such sectors and switching them to sectors which create "material" goods.

We must also improve the method of measuring the output of the "traditional" sectors included in the national income. The prices of the preceding period, which are used to this purpose, are a palliative which is vulnerable from several sides. First, we are sidestepping the essence of the matter: a comparison among the social usefulness of various goods under contemporary conditions; second, we give undeserved advantages to products which in the past entailed high production outlays; third, this approach is not directly applicable in assessing new commodity models. Under the conditions of fast renovation and significant structural changes and changes in price ratios, the current method for computing the dynamics of the national income leads to quite substantial distortions.

The problems of adequately measuring the national income are typical of the indicators of the national economic standard. No less topical are problems of perfecting economic measures on the sectorial and regional levels, in the production area essentially. Suffice it to mention the economic struggle against "gross output," which does not disappear from the pages of journals and newspapers.

A number of improvements in the system of economic measurements are possible right now: they have been methodically thought-out, and experimentally tested; they are consistent with the new economic mechanism. We could also use partially the experience of the European socialist countries. Nonetheless, the need has appeared for reinterpreting and reviewing the theoretical and methodological principles themselves on which economic measurements are based and for creating new means of measurement.

We must also take into consideration the ideological aspect of the problem of accuracy of economic information. The public must be given the guarantee that the indicators of socioeconomic development are protected from deliberate distortions which embellish the real situation.

7. Let us consider above all the link between the "economic" and the "social." Today our science uses the following system for their interaction, consisting of three elements: a. Public production as a developing resource-technological system; b. The social sphere, within which the various social needs are met and the process of the reproduction of the population and manpower takes place; c. The transmission mechanism for that which is created in industry, so that it may be used in the social sphere. The human factor, in this case, acts both as a production force (manpower) and as the purpose of production (satisfaction of material and spiritual needs, development of the individual). In accordance with the basic economic law of socialism, public production is subordinated to social objectives.

On the surface, here everything seems to be harmoniously interrelated: the social sphere formulates requirements for the production sphere and the production sphere, to the extent of objective (resource-technological) possibilities, meets such requirements through the distribution mechanism.

Let us admit that a quarter-of-a-century ago, when the theory and methodology of optimal planning was developed and when a wide variety of economic-mathematical methods was created to implement the logic of this system, this was one of the greatest accomplishments of the science of economics.

However, this theoretical system obviously simplifies the role of the human factor. It does not take into consideration feedback—the influence which the processes of meeting requirements, motivational mechanisms, distribution relations and so on, has on production efficiency (the production-economic potential). It is as though the human factor is deprived of activeness and broken down into two unrelated elements: "resource" and "consumer."

Naturally, in principle economists have always been aware of the fact that the full satisfaction of rational material needs, improved education and labor and recreation conditions, and so on, achieved through material and moral incentives, upgrade the productive force of workers and the efficiency with which other production resources are used. However, there was a great scarcity of knowledge concerning the corresponding specific quantitative correlations, particularly on the scale of the national economy. And, as is frequently the case, that which cannot be measured does not seem particularly important. Since the economic consequences of social steps are not measured, the temptation is great to channel resources wherever their returns can be quantitatively assessed. That is the reason for which the notorious "residual principle" appeared entirely sensible.

Adding the feedback to the system of interaction between the production and social spheres essentially changes the logic of optimal planning and management. Above all, today many production possibilities depend not only on technology and the allocation of production resources but also on the enhancement of the human factor.

At the present time economic studies include problems such as what should be done in the social sphere and what forms of distribution should be used to increase labor productivity by a certain percentage or bring it to a stipulated level? The economic efficiency of such steps should be compared to other ways of upgrading labor productivity (automation, change in technology, etc.).

Something else that changes is the approach to the problem of social justice. If we consider production and economic possibilities as technologically predetermined, assuming that they are used optimally, the additional benefits which go to a specific group of workers invariably harm the interest of other groups. However, if we take into consideration the fact that providing incentives to workers who show high labor productivity broadens production possibilities (by increasing the overall labor productivity), the conclusion is different: a partial redistribution of benefits among groups of workers in accordance with the efficiency of their labor improves the economic situation of them all.

What does this lead to in terms of the science of economics? We believe that priority should be given to the study of the laws of two of the three reciprocal influences of production, distribution and social development. We

must master a new type of comprehensive mathematical models which apply not only to the resource-technological aspects of the economy but also the active influence of the economic and social mechanism on them. To this effect, together with the sociologists, we must undertake the study of motivations for economic behavior and the systematization of data on the influence on production efficiency of the incentive and labor organization systems, various methods of cadre training and education, alternatives in satisfying the material needs of the population, etc. The summation of such information will enable us to single out reliable quantitative correlations included in the comprehensive systems for forecasting and planning socioeconomic processes. Let me point out that when at the beginning of the 1960s the task was formulated of developing planned intersectorial balances for the production and distribution of commodities in the national economy, more than 150 scientific research institutes, working on the basis of a single method program, became involved in preparing information on standards governing the outlay of material resources. It is obvious that any reliable information support for such studies and for managing the interaction among economic and social processes will require equal organizational efforts.

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1. As was justly noted at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the fact that theoretical concepts of socialism had largely remained on the level of the 1930s and 1940s was one of the reasons for the difficult and conflicting present situation. Scientists praised some indisputable truths which were being hashed and rehashed like propaganda. Scholastic works and playing at definitions, leading to few serious practical recommendations, and delving into economic history and the history of economic thinking, as distant from the present as possible, were considered "safe."

In their "transformed shape," the theory and practice of the utilization of the law of value weakened the role of commodity-monetary relations, promoted equalization and encouraged some economists to engage in "left-wing communist" anticipation. Useful pragmatism was allowed in essentially applied economic sciences; however, without any new foundations in political economy, it degenerated into minor evolutionary additions and amendments. Furthermore, applied disciplines were actually considered "second rate" objects. Faced with this situation in science, in turn practical workers did not demand a great deal of it and economic management was based on existing stereotypes.

This is not to say that no efforts were made to provide a constructive analysis or to promote new ideas. However, they were left unsupported and, furthermore, frequently the persistent supporters of the most radical views found themselves "in disgrace."

As the economic situation in the country worsened, developments of a positive nature were enhanced. In this connection we must note those economists who worked on the drafting and initial implementation of the 1965 economic reform.

2. Many such areas exist. Their development will enable us to abandon dogmas and persistent errors, which we shall discuss in greater detail.

The first dogma is that the natural-material tasks of society have a self-satisfying, a supreme significance compared with value assignments which are needed only for collating purposes. This view was sometimes supported by the claim that under socialism commodity-monetary relations have no independent meaning, that there was commodity turnover but not commodity-production, while value categories in production are needed only for the passive, the reflected consideration of overall outlays.

Naturally, socialist society aims at the production of consumer values. This does not mean that their set and quantity can be determined ahead of time, regardless of value. The lowering of the active inverse effect of value on the material structure of the production process means reducing the sources for accelerating the production of the necessary goods and consumer values.

This lowers the role of the law of value and the physical ratios within the national economic plan become virtually independent of the time needed for the recovery of capital investments (quite different among individual sectors, production facilities and enterprises). The collectives receive a substantial addition (15 percent) to their material incentive funds for fulfilling contracts, although expenditures may be excessive. At this point "the contract is worth more than money!" becomes the truth. Distribution according to labor is stubbornly oriented toward actual individual (enterprises) labor outlays rather than socially acknowledged results. Wages depend less on production results than on increases in predetermined costs, which sometimes encroach on profits (unless prices have been already raised). Prices as well are based on actual outlays and depend very little on the quality of output, being virtually independent of technical and economic parameters. Enterprises which are hopeless from the viewpoint of the value of their output are not closed down and properly working collectives are not given visible economic advantages. Both are assessed in terms of the percentage of plan fulfillment rather than the actual end indicator of efficiency. It becomes easier for a weak collective to reach this level, for the assignments issued to it legitimize excessive production costs which exceed socially necessary outlays. The assignments of the strong collectives, conversely, become excessively difficult, which kills incentives for labor economy. For that reason weak collectives can significantly overfulfill mandatory indicators, officially outstrip frontranking collectives and obtain higher incentive funds.

For many years a "system" was applied in determining overall indicators. Naturally, indicators varied according to enterprises and the overall value was not estimated on the basis of a common denominator. Under such circumstances evaluations sometimes depended on subjective and personal preferences. They were incomplete and inaccurate. The appearance of success was allowed at the expense of "invisible" cost overruns concealed behind artificially reduced indicators.

Subsequently, supporters of a single general indicator--profit--became increasingly stronger. Initially profit was considered the source of additional incentive and production development. Fulfillment of the production plan, observing assignments concerning material intensiveness, labor productivity, share of superior quality goods, and so on, were considered efficiency indicators. If incentives based on such indicators

could not be awarded from profits, they were lowered to the actual profit levels. Surplus profit could not be used for bonuses. In other words, if profits were insufficient, they were "given" the role of incentive indicators; if profit surpluses appeared, the previous indicators were applied. It is only now that profits are considered simultaneously in two hypostases: as a source of development and as a consolidated indicator of the efficiency of the work of labor collectives.

The second dogma was that enterprise autonomy was admissible only in making short-term current tactical decisions while long-term and strategic directions could be issued only from above. This dogma absolutized the type of economic management mechanism which had appeared at the start of industrialization and which has still not been entirely eliminated.

Today the science of economics must develop a contemporary model for combining centralization with the independence of collectives. It must instill a new content into both sides of democratic centralism. It is a question of comprehensively broadening the rights of collectives and developing self-planning, self-procurements, self-financing and self-governing, which would include the election of directors and all line production managers at the lower levels. This would enable us to entrust the labor collectives with full responsibility for all economic management results and stimulate their efficiency. Within the framework of these functions, the enterprises must solve both short-term and long-term problems, tactical as well as strategic.

Only socialism can make optimal use of specific centralized management methods optimally, thus obtaining additional benefits from the single national economic plan compared with the sum total of enterprise plans. The scientific study of such methods is a most important task.

The third dogma is that the interests of the budget must be fully met in their planned amount, even if the plans of individual enterprises have been necessarily revised downwards or remained unfulfilled. This has created a formulation which, allegedly, meets the interests of the collectives, such as the agreement of the financial authorities in changing some production and financial indicators "without changing relations with the budget." In the course of several years the enterprises of many ministries which failed to fulfill their profit plan made their budget payments in the planned amounts. This weakened the weak enterprises even further. It was subsequently decided that if the profit targets could not be met payments to the budget and profits left at the disposal of the collective would be proportionally reduced (except when the nonfulfillment of profit plans is under 2 percent).

The fourth dogma is that the state will provide the enterprises with all fixed and working capital. So far, this has indeed been the case. However, would it be right always to apply this method in the future? If the cost of a project to be built can be recovered within the stipulated time, it may be financed with loans. Such a mechanism would make the collectives more cautious in using their money than in the case of budget financing. If this system is developed, crediting enterprises will have to be added to the formula of providing them with fixed and working capital.

The fifth dogma is that cooperative socialist ownership must be rapidly "brought up" to the level of the state, thus becoming deprived of its truly cooperative features or even being simply abolished. In the light of the stipulations of the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, this concept must be thoroughly reviewed. Scientists must concentrate on how to instill new strength in state ownership, to upgrade its stimulating role, to expand distribution based on gross income, to introduce income taxes and to ensure democratic forms of work, such as electing managers and assigning a decisive role to the assemblies and councils of labor collectives. These features must be restored in full in the case of cooperative ownership as well. At the same time, we must increase within it the "classical" cooperative principles and ways and means of work (shareholders, distribution based on the residual value of investments, refunding the investments of those who pull out of the cooperative, etc.); areas must be defined in which the cooperatives must become the most efficient means of socialist production.

3. The essence of the revolutionary restructuring of the production relations system is the application of a "package" of steps many of which will require special laws and decrees. This applies above all to the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association), currently submitted for nationwide discussion, and the law on the centralized plan. The implementation on such laws should fully harness the basic advantages of socialism and contribute to the all-round democratization of economic life and the development of internal self-governing principles inherent in our system.

It is also a question of radical reforms in material and technical supplies, wage methods, the financial-credit mechanism, price setting, foreign economic activities, organization of the competition (increasing its economic content), the present management organization structures (intersectorial and territorial), higher and secondary specialized education and general education schools, the system of economic laws, etc. The implementation of virtually all of these steps has been undertaken. However, as was noted at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the main work lies ahead.

5. The state is interested not only in having a certain revenue but also in collecting in a manner which would stimulate increased production efficiency and, in the final account, increase the slice of the "pie." In this sense Lenin's idea of the tax-in-kind could efficiently "operate" today.

The present income-regulating tax mechanism is applied in the case of kolkhozes, production and consumer cooperatives, joint ownership enterprises and individual labor activity. Most of the earnings of all working people are controlled with taxes. Meanwhile, the income of state enterprises are controlled, as a rule, with non-tax methods. As a result, even under self-financing conditions, according to the financial plan the budget revenue consists of what is considered enterprise surplus. If the income is low and expenditures, as acknowledged "from above," are high, the budget may obtain no revenue at all and may even have to subsidize the enterprise. Conversely, if the income is high and, as acknowledged "from above," expenditures are low, the budget would collect the entire surplus. It is thus that poorly working collectives are not penalized and those which work well are not rewarded.

There is a prejudice against taxation. Several decades ago the need to eliminate taxation altogether was voiced. Consequently, even where self-financing is governed by withholdings based on a special scale (as is the case, starting with 1987, of the system of the USSR Minkhimmash), they are described merely as "withholdings from profits" and "payments for assets." It is time to take a fresh look on taxation and profoundly realize that without adopting systematic tax regulatory measures the stimulating function of finances cannot be applied and the radical reform in economic management will yield no results. In this case we should emphasize the importance of the concept formulated in the draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) of setting standards for the distribution of profits between the enterprise and the state budget, based on differentiated withholding and taxation rates and other standards. The latter may include both rents and fixed payments.

6. Incomplete cost accounting means that a number of cost accounting features are applied to a limited extent. With total cost accounting the collective survives exclusively on the basis of its own income (excluding specific activities, such as the development of scientific and technical progress, paid for or helped by the state).

A movement for total cost accounting is developing today and the most extensive and progressive forms of self-financing are used by the USSR Minkhimmash. We believe that it is precisely these forms which should be applied in industry as a whole and in other economic sectors (taking their specific features into consideration).

Furthermore, even this area of self-financing must be boosted significantly. At Minkhimmash enterprises planned material incentive funds are computed on the basis of those of the preceding year, with slight corrections based on the growth (reduction) of the net output. Consequently, they are essentially based on the existing level which is by no means necessarily related to current intensive labor. A similar situation is that of the social development funds. Since prior to the formation of such funds profits are subject to double taxation (income and property), the remainder, which goes into the development of the production process, is considered "floating." It could be lesser than the amount of resources needed by the enterprise or perhaps even greater.

It is recommended that the shortage of funds be covered out of reserves set aside during periods of good financial "harvests," and from loans (if they can be repaid on time). Surpluses would go into a reserve fund and used to repay loans and interest. However, if a surplus remains even after that, for the time being it would be deposited into the ministry's amortization fund. This violates the "purity" of self-financing, for the enterprises would try to increase their expenditures in order to make minimal contributions to the amortization fund; in the case of shortages in the development funds they would try to exaggerate their expenditures in order to receive more than they gave. This situation is eliminated with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which stipulates that the full amount of amortization withholdings must be kept by the labor collectives.

To a certain extent self-financing is distorted also as a consequence of the fact that the payments made by enterprises to ministry centralized funds and reserves are not based on a strict tax rate but on the principle that whoever has surplus cash should pay more. The income tax will be proportional. However, in 1985-1986 the Sumy Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze paid a graduated tax, which seems fairer. This contradiction should be eliminated rapidly, so that as of next year we can comprehensively convert to a more advanced type of self-financing.

The thorough and objective study of the initial experience in self-financing will enable us to highlight many other problems to be solved. The most important of them was formulated in the question asked by the editors on the essential feature of combining full cost accounting with the principles of centralized planning and management.

As we already pointed out, such principles will further improve the unified national economic plan compared with the sum of plans of individual enterprises. Any gaps which may develop here would be corrected by the socialist society with proper changes in enterprises, aimed at providing national benefits. It is important, however, that in such cases the interests of enterprises are not violated but satisfied in full. The efficient method here is that of establishing mandatory assignments in the form of profitable state orders. Whenever possible, it would be expedient to place such orders on the basis of competitive bids; all other conditions being equal, they would go to a collective which would accept a relatively low figure and would need less help than others (in terms of amortization, credits, taxation, currency, customs fees, procurement expenditures, etc.). The number of orders could depend on the need for a review of "basic" plans. The danger lies not in issuing a large number of assignments from above but of a disparity between such assignments and the interests of collectives.

Like the plans, the centralized planned orders must be drafted by the collectives themselves. Planned projections and actual developments must coincide regularly. In cases of unpredictable situations orders should be amended. In order to accomplish this, the state will need emergency funds.

Centralized management also includes the formulation and application of uniform economic standards and rules which, in terms of all enterprises, would ensure an equal overall income and will not give anyone one-sided advantages or turn someone else into an "innocent culprit." Furthermore, national economic management is achieved also through budget financing of specific vitally important areas such as basic science, the most revolutionary changes in equipment and technology, a significant portion of infrastructural outlays, and social consumption funds on the national economic and sectorial levels.

These are some basic considerations on the implementation of democratic centralism in the current "cost accounting situation."

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM AND YOUTH

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[Article by Igor Mikhaylovich Ilinskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, director of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center]

[Text] Restructuring and acceleration will become irreversible if they develop as a nationwide project. It is precisely this that determines the main party concept, which is the course of intensification, major democratization of Soviet society and involving in restructuring all of its sociopolitical institutions and strata, including young people and the Komsomol.

I

The attention which the party pays to young people and the Komsomol is natural. It is explained above all by the fact that children and young people account for a considerable part of the country's population; 1 out of 3 working people are young persons. About one-half of the scientific and the scientific and technical intelligentsia consists of people under 30. Today, however, the attention to young people is due not only to their significant share of the population and the working people. Their age makes young people predisposed to accept the new. They have a critical attitude toward anything obsolete and are intolerant of routine, sluggishness and stagnation.

The role of young people increases with the active conversion of our society to a primarily intensive development. "Starting" with economics and the updating of equipment and technology and the production management system, intensification most substantially affects the main element of production forces--man--formulating essentially new requirements concerning his knowledge, skills and habits, and particularly urgently raises the question of the creative capabilities, style and content of thinking of the individual and of his qualities, such as activeness, initiative and ability to function independently.

How can such demands of young people be met? Youth is the best educated segment of the population. For example, "workers-intellectuals," i.e., people with higher, unfinished higher and secondary specialized training, account for

32 percent of the total number of young workers, whereas they do not exceed 8.7 percent of the entire working class. The educational standard of society is rising rapidly precisely because of young people, who bring the latest knowledge to production and social life.

Already today intensification has formulated for society problems some of which, by virtue of their novelty and special requirements concerning the individuals, can be solved only by young people.

Let us take computerization alone. Science and practical experience have proved that people in their 40s, not to mention their 50s, are not always willing to master the language of mathematics and programming, which demand particular efforts on their part. Modern and most modern technologies and management systems, which are the basic factors in economic intensification, can also be developed only by people with new, nontraditional thinking. It is no accident, for example, that the personnel of the recently created design bureau at the KamAZ, where the machines of the future are being developed, consists of people under 30, including the chief designer.

The problems of today's youth must be considered from the positions of the future. Young people live and work in a renovated world. However, they must build this world together with their elders. This world of tomorrow will be largely the way young people conceive of it today. The ideals, value orientations, plans, needs and interests of young people are subjects of special social concern, for it is through the young generations that society reproduces itself biologically and socially. Human and machine generations, and control systems, the novelty of which will determine our material well-being, are dialectically interrelated: People change in the course of transforming activities and change such activities to the extent of changes in their own thinking, mentality and work style.

In particular, the problem is that the pace at which changes in new generations of equipment take place in electronics, aviation, nuclear energy, and so on, have begun substantially to outstrip the pace at which changes occur in worker generations. However, one prerequisite for intensification and acceleration is the faster development of "live" knowledge, the bearers of which are the working people. At this point, once again we come across the problem of youth: Today, generations which will be active approximately until the year 2025 and beyond it are entering life and active labor careers. They will be using the type of equipment, technology and management systems which will be created on the basis of as yet undiscovered ideas and knowledge.

The acceleration of socioeconomic development, intensification of scientific and technical progress, and fuller realization of the human factor presume the need for a spiritual revolution. The restructuring of society is impossible without that of man himself--his outlook, mentality, thoughts, feelings, motivations, style of behavior in private and public life and attitude toward people, the collective and society. Essentially, it is a question of a program for raising the future generations of Soviet people, who must not simply reach new moral and intellectual heights but also become largely different qualitatively compared to present generations.

People, who must not simply live under changing circumstances but also decisively improve and create such circumstances, who must invent and apply qualitatively new equipment and technologies and means of managing production and society are those who are today entering schools, technical schools and PTU, who are studying at institutes and are joining labor collectives. That is why the increased role of young people in the life of Soviet society is a natural process which is manifested with increased clarity at the present stage, under the conditions of acceleration.

Understandably, this process is not automatic. It can follow an ascending line only if young people are educated and active, if their abilities are developed and their spiritual qualities are enhanced, such as idea-mindedness, loyalty to the cause of the party and socialism, and the feelings of duty and responsibility to society.

II

The self-awareness of adolescents, as active subjects of social creativity, and their desire for self-realization have drastically increased at the stage of restructuring. More than ever, time has clearly earmarked lines which divide generations and indicated not only differences in their tastes and views on life, music and fashion, but also in some spiritual concepts and value orientations. The tempestuous increase in the number of voluntary associations and informal youth groups, in which millions of boys and girls participate, have become a noticeable feature of the present. The absolute majority of them are engaged in unquestionably socially useful activities, although sometimes they try to satisfy very specific interests and requests of young people. A number of associations are of a patriotic nature. They include youth initiative groups, movements for the preservation of historical monuments, associations of creative youth, etc.

Studies have indicated that the principal ideological-moral values, such as loyalty to communist ideals, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, collectivism, duty, honor, goodness and selflessness, were and remain the basic guidelines of the overwhelming majority of Soviet youth. Nonetheless, along with the growth of political awareness and social activeness of the majority of young people in society, the number of young people displaying political naivete, lack of interest in politics, nihilistic views of the future, and loss of clear class vision in the assessment of phenomena and events in social reality, has increased noticeably.

Existing violations of the standards of the socialist way of life have substantially harmed the moral consciousness and morality of young people. Consumerist feelings, a "double moral standard," parasitism, egotism, drunkenness, drug addiction and hooliganism have affected a certain segment of the youth and have had a destructive influence on its ideals.

Conflicting trends are found in labor as well. Unquestionably, there is an increase in the number of young people who work conscientiously and qualitatively. At the same time, however, there has been an increase in the number of people who are indifferent or irresponsible toward their work. According to data of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Party School

Scientific Research Center, 10 percent of young workers do not meet their planned assignments; 20 percent produce low-quality goods and allow defects, and violate thrift requirements; 1 out of 3 violates labor discipline, does not consider himself the owner of the enterprise; many young people remain totally uninvolved in production management.

The tendency toward a pragmatic attitude toward labor is growing. A significant share of young men and women work without interest. They are unwilling to upgrade their professional skills, thinking not of what to become and how to work but only of how to earn more.

There are tangible social problems of youth as well. Unfortunately, for many years problems of creating suitable working, living, training, recreation and resting conditions, and conditions for professional and social growth and for satisfying the spiritual needs of young people, have been poorly solved, although it is obvious that such conditions either upgrade the efficiency of education or reduce to naught even the most advanced educational methods. It is equally clear that the opportunity for some young people to obtain additional material benefits and social advantages thanks to the official position of their parents triggers feelings of social injustice, frustration and protest, leading to a worsening of the moral and psychological climate in youth circles and in society at large.

Difficulties in youth daily life (scarcity of apartments, kindergartens and nurseries, low earnings, etc.) have extremely aggravated the problem of young families. Most young people are oriented toward having no more than one child and only 5 percent would like to have three children, which is necessary if there is to be any population growth.

The question of the production of goods for young people is exceptionally crucial. A significant portion of young urban residents try to satisfy their needs for clothing not with domestic but imported goods, which they try to procure by all possible means, including contacts with and "services" of speculators. A survey of adolescents in several large cities in the country indicated that many of them would like to see a foreign label on their clothing. Many young people have a positive view on the activities of speculators, for the latter help them to dress fashionably.

No less topical today is the question of "youth" services. Getting a modern youth haircut is rather difficult. To exchange a tape recording or phonograph record is also difficult. Renting sports or tourist equipment is a problem.

Dissatisfaction with working conditions, and a lagging in the development of consumer, trade, medical and cultural services for young people in the countryside have led to high rates of youth migration to the towns.

In other words, in frequent cases the needs of young people have been ignored in planning the production of commodities and services and allocating social consumption funds. For example, if a young person who begins his labor career between the ages of 18 and 22 could hope to obtain state housing on an average after 10 to 12 years, this means that most young people are left outside the government housing system.

Ensuring the equal and full access by young people to spiritual values became a major social problem at the end of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. The scarcity of movie and other theaters, clubs and houses of culture in many towns and villages is a reality difficult to ignore.

The sensible question arises of the reasons for shortcomings in youth education, for without their clarification many problems will remain unsolved. Unquestionably, the family and the school must be held seriously responsible for this, as is traditionally the case. However, the same could be said of the system of vocational training, VUZs, literature, art, science, television, radio and the press. This problem directly affects the local soviets and party and social organizations. In other words, this applies to the entire system of youth education and training. We can also feel the lack of an integral concept and unified program for raising the growing generation.

The lack of coordination among the different links in this chain can be seen by taking as an example the current reform of secondary and higher schools. The educating of children and young people is excessively standardized and regulated. Essentially, the authoritarian style in relations between teachers and students and between educators and educated has been asserted.

But there is more. In many respects, work with young people has been turned over to the Komsomol, i.e., to the young people themselves, although it is clear that however hard it may try, the Komsomol cannot and will never be able to solve all youth problems by itself, for such problems are inseparable from those of the entire society. They could be solved only on the basis of a unified and efficient policy.

The social problems of youth pertain to society as a whole and cannot be solved within the boundaries of individual areas, republics or departments. Their solution requires the centralized appropriation of substantial funds and material, technical and human resources. Consequently, the solution of such problems, under party guidance and with the participation of public organizations, can be achieved only by the state. However, there is no integral program for solving the social problems of young people in the country and the efforts of individual ministries to accomplish this through their own efforts have been unsuccessful.

III

The 27th Party Congress called for taking a new look at the role of young people and the Komsomol in the historical process. Particular attention should be paid to youth social problems, above all to those related to the development and better satisfaction of socially significant youth interests and needs in the areas of labor and way of life, education, culture, professional and career growth and sensible use of leisure time. This approach is noteworthy for it means a decisive rejection of the recently quite popular views that equality in the status and living standard of classes and large social groups and in the economic status of young people and adults, achieved by socialism, was the equivalent of solving the real problems of a start in life and of the living conditions of young people.

Reality proved that this is by no means the case. It is not simply a matter of constitutional or legislative rights and freedoms of citizens, including young people. What matters is the real situation. The young people become aware of the idea of social justice proclaimed by socialism through specific actions taken for their good. Unity between words and actions in solving social problems is manifested in the social pride and mood of young people and, in turn, affects youth behavior, attitude toward labor and sociopolitical activeness, which most directly influence the pace of intensification and acceleration of social progress.

The 27th CPSU Congress provided essentially new premises for upgrading the role of the Komsomol in the Soviet political system. The codification of the concept of the League of Young Leninists as a sociopolitical organization in the Congress' programmatic documents, the broadening of the range of problems which state authorities can solve only with the participation or preliminary agreement of public and, specifically, Komsomol organizations, and the latter's right, in necessary cases, to block the implementation of administrative decisions, are noteworthy features. This indicates not only an acknowledgment of the obvious fact that in the course of the entire history of the struggle for the ideals of the new society the Komsomol proved itself a loyal political soldier. It is also an expression of the practical need of the party and society to raise the political work of the Komsomol among young people to a qualitatively new standard.

In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that young people should be trusted more; this should combine skillful help and free comradely criticism of errors, allowing the young people to display greater autonomy in the organization of their work, training, way of life and recreation and display greater responsibility for their actions. He pointed out that "There is no...other real way for the development of the individual and the molding of the civic stance of the young person other than his real involvement in all public affairs."

In particular, we must look at the specific demands and requirements of society and the party toward young people and the Komsomol, their social role under the new historical situation, the nature and content of restructuring, as applicable to young people, and their interaction with social restructuring as a whole and in its individual areas, from the positions of the present. It has become necessary to determine how radically to improve Komsomol activities, the system of scientific studies of youth, ways and means of youth propaganda, the work of all educational institutions, etc.

The objective law that the role of young people is increasing in the life of our society under the conditions of acceleration and intensification, and the need to formulate a new, a stronger youth policy by the CPSU and the Soviet state, as a means of deliberate implementation of this law, must be acknowledged not in words but in actions.

How accurate is the concept of youth policy? The founders of scientific communism considered politics a multidimensional phenomenon, which they defined also through the criteria of "attitude" and "reality" (see V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 49, p 369; vol 43, p 340).

It is only with this approach that politics, as Lenin pointed out, can be "studied and understood in its entirety" (op. cit., vol 32, p 82). A differentiated view on politics becomes even more justified and necessary today, when social life has become significantly more complex, when ever new targets and areas of politics are becoming targets of particular attention and concern on the part of society, the party and the state.

In our view, youth policy must become a separate trend in party and state activities. Its target is young people who have their own specific features and problems which can by no means always be solved "alongside" "adult" problems. Nonetheless, youth problems cannot be separated from those of society, for young people are a specific age group within this society, they are the "society of the future."

What does youth policy mean? First, a system of ideas and theoretical concepts on the place and role of the young generation in socialist society; second, the practical activities of the party, the Soviet state and the public organizations and other social institutions in the implementation of such ideas, concepts and directives with a view to molding and developing young people, ensuring the realization of their creativity opportunities in the interests of the new society.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of the place and role of the young generation in social life, Lenin's concept of the Communist Youth League in socialist society and the sum total of ideas on youth and the Komsomol found in CPSU documents constitute the ideological and theoretical foundation of the youth policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

Which are the specific steps which could lead youth policy in the necessary direction, give it a new content and accelerate its implementation?

In our view, above all it would be expedient to formulate a comprehensive target program for solving youth problems for, shall we say, 1988-2000, as an appendix to the Basic Trends in Economic and Social Development of our society. The program could consist of sections such as "Labor," "Training," "Way of Life," "Recreation," "Youth Education," and others.

The planning of work with young people on the level of union republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons and enterprises, as part of the plans for socioeconomic development, would give the union-wide program its necessary concreteness and completeness.

The implementation of the program would require the creation of a youth financial fund, consisting of assets provided not only by the state but also by the public organizations and monies earned by the young people themselves.

The political and legal foundations of work with young people and Komsomol activities must be substantially strengthened. The point is that the rights of young people have been codified and "scattered" among several thousand different legal regulations. The knowledge of such rights must be accessible not only to those who work with young people but to the young people themselves. It would be useful to this effect to publish a codified

collection of RSFSR youth legislation and similar collections for other union republics, and of practical science recommendations related to them.

The promulgation of a USSR law on young people would be a step of major political significance. This question has been discussed in the country for some 25 years. Such a law would reflect more completely the basic rights and obligations of young people and the Komsomol. It would create a single legal concept for the exercise of youth policy and would become the juridical foundation for implementing a program for work with youth. Laws on young people have been in effect for many years in the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland and Cuba.

Almost all of these countries have state authorities for youth affairs, which implement social programs, coordinate the work of ministries and departments in their work with youth, closely interacting with youth leagues. This does not lower in the least the role of the youth organizations themselves but, conversely, helps them better to perform their functions.

The formulation of a new youth policy will require refining our views on young people as subjects of social creativity and a new and more progressive pedagogy. It is a question of eliminating concepts of youth as being mainly and above all an object of influence and reducing the problem of youth work only to those of education. The young generation is an active participant in the historical process and a creative and constructive force.

Society and the family must not only (and simply) give their children and the young all they want, which develops in them dependency and consumerist tendencies, but allow them to do what they want (naturally, in the social interest), thus encouraging independent thoughts and actions, self-training and self-education, and developing a responsibility for their behavior and for everything that occurs around them.

It should also be a question of increasing the quantity and, particularly, the quality of labor invested in youth education by those who are in charge of molding the spiritual aspect of youth. There are very few serious books, motion pictures and shows which deal with the world of contemporary youth. Youth topics are not particularly popular among creative workers. Could we speak of any serious influence by the Soviet stage on shaping the musical taste of young people if the absolute majority of our composers are deaf to modern rhythms and melodies?

The new stage in the development of youth policy must be marked by setting it on a truly scientific base. Unfortunately, today there is no scientific institution in the country with adequate potential for undertaking comprehensive and all-round studies of youth problems. For that reason assessments of the social aspect of young Soviet people are, to begin with, quite one-sided; second, they are largely based on intuition. They are subjective and based on knowledge of a certain amount of superficial facts and are not the result of serious interdisciplinary work.

For a variety of reasons science has ignored a number of social, socioeconomic and other topical problems. The absence of uniform methods leads to the fact

that even sociological studies conducted in various parts of the country suffer from low quality, are not comparable and, therefore, are largely useless.

Academic and party scientific institutions are virtually indifferent to youth problems which they consider nonprestigious. The number of scientific units studying young people within the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences is declining rather than increasing. In October 1984, after the promulgation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Komsomol, the social science section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium passed a good resolution on enhancing scientific studies of problems related to youth topics. Essentially, however, the resolution remained on paper only. A certain portion of the blame also falls on our Center which is also responsible for such work.

Naturally, enhancing the work of the Komsomol organizations should provide a new and powerful impetus in the area of youth policy. The restructuring taking place in society affects the principles, standards, content, forms and methods of Komsomol activities, its internal life and its interaction with various units within the Soviet political system. Under conditions of a profound democratization of Soviet society the type of moral and psychological atmosphere developing in the Komsomol is one which motivates all of its members, from leading Komsomol personnel to rank-and-file members, to engage in constant searches and to assert new features consistent with the spirit of the time and the needs of society and of youth itself.

The party justifiably blames science for the lack of broad summations which would enable us promptly to forecast and make principle-minded and radical decisions. Indeed, we are frequently slow in determining the trends and patterns which govern processes and phenomena in a youth environment, identifying them after they have proclaimed their existence most fully or, conversely, have lost their strength. As a result, practical workers frequently believe by inertia in features which no longer exist or do things which should no longer be done, i.e., they not only fail to accelerate positive processes but, conversely, hinder them.

It is clear, however, that realizing the existence of phenomena on time and formulating ideas with a view to the future means providing a new impetus to accelerating the socioeconomic development of society.

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GREATER TRUST: INTERVIEW ON THE PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE VAZ KOMSOMOL ORGANIZATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 28-38

[Text]There were three candidates for the position of Komsomol committee secretary and all three had their electoral program. These were extensively discussed at the plant and in the city. The plant accountability and election conference had no presidium or strict rules or a preapproved list of speakers. Let us agree that until recently this would have been an unusual situation. However, it was precisely thus that in November 1986 the present staff of the Komsomol committee at the famous AvtoVAZ Association imeni 50-Letiya SSSR was appointed.

The social orientation of activities, rejection of its obsolete forms and methods, broadened democracy and openness and formulation of daring initiatives in a great many areas of the life of the collective was what marked the plant's Komsomol during the proceedings of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In his plenum address, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that today, when we speak of the need for democratic change and for broadening the real participation of the people in solving problems of restructuring, the question of the views of the young generation assumes tremendous political importance. The concerns of the young VAZ people, restructuring Komsomol work, and problems which excite today's youth are discussed in a talk among Yu. Kudryavtsev, this journal's special correspondent, Komsomol committee secretary L. Kalashnikov and Yu. Arkhipov, party committee secretary at the association.

[Question] Let us recall November 1986. Today your example is being followed by many. At that time the idea of submitting the names of three candidates was new and unusual. How did you come to it?

[L. Kalashnikov] The idea appeared and became "flesh" at a meeting of the Komsomol committee. The question was to understand what is today most important to the VAZ Komsomol and, therefore, clearly to define the areas of work to be developed on a priority basis in order not to undertake everything all at once, as had been the case in the past. In other words, we needed a well thought-out, clearly formulated and comprehensively understood concept of the further activities of the Komsomol organization. Naturally, the Komsomol must deal with everything which affects young people today. It seems to me,

however, that there always are priority problems with which one must begin. It is thus that three priority areas were selected: upgrading the quality of output (formulated by Yuriy Prishchepa), mastering the production of new automobile models (Valeriy Satunkin) and giving priority to solving housing, social and cultural problems of young people at the plant, which I promoted.

Furthermore, we tried to enhance the social activeness of the young people. However, priorities in Komsomol work cannot be set "behind closed doors," but determined only on the basis of a broad survey. Our idea proved accurate: the electoral programs were heatedly discussed not only in the plant's shops but on the outside as well. Materials for discussions were published in the plant's newspaper and printed in KOMSOMOLKA. The sociological survey carried out by our newspaper gave us a clear idea of the attitude of Komsomol members toward the programs of their candidates. My program garnered 68 percent of the open vote; that of Valeriy Satunkin 18.5 percent and that of Yuriy Prishchepa, 13.5 percent. The same percentages were subsequently established at the elections held during the Komsomol conference.

[Question] Obviously, the youngsters linked many of their hopes to the views held by the party committee. We know, however, that some managers are in the habit of rejecting youth initiatives out of hand....

[Yu. Arkhipov] Honestly speaking, when Leonid told me of the idea of publishing the programs of several candidates for the position of secretary and to hold elections indicating public support, my initial reaction was one of caution. I then concluded that this was something new and interesting and that the Komsomol secretary was basically correct in defending his position. I agreed because of my belief that the main thing in cadre policy is that there should be an initiative-minded person in any economic, party or Komsomol managerial position. If such a person shows up he must be supported.

As to the three areas of Komsomol activities, chosen by the candidates, to a large extent this division is conventional. The Komsomol committee and its secretary will, one way or another, be dealing with everything--social affairs, production and ideological upbringing. It is simply that they set themselves their own "starting point" in solving other problems which, naturally, are closely interrelated.

It is true that the Komsomol members criticized the Komsomol committee for its haste in preparing for the conference and for the fact that the candidates had not been able to meet with the Komsomol members in all the shops. The remark was just. However, this is only the beginning and a beginning is always difficult. What matters is that an interesting idea was born and that we were able to implement it.

[Question] Leonid, tell us in greater detail about your program. What is already being done to implement it?

[L. Kalashnikov] The prestige of the Komsomol organization, both at the plant and in the country as a whole, must be substantially strengthened. In my view, this truth today is self-evident. The prestige of the organization must increase above all as a result of the real influence which the Komsomol can

exert on the organization of the work, way of life and recreation of young people. At the VAZ there are more than 40,000 working people under 30. If we can secure this influence and solve youth problems the prestige of the Komsomol would be enhanced and we would find it easier to deal with other problems, including those related to ideological and moral upbringing.

The first steps in the implementation of the program I supported are already being taken. The plant's "quadrangle" approved the initiative of the plant Komsomol committee on building a youth residential complex in the 15th microrayon of Avtozavodskiy Rayon, for the time being to include 400 apartments. In the future we are planning the building of a complex of 4,000 apartments in a separate microrayon. The youth housing complex will include sociocultural establishments, kindergartens and schools. I am convinced that housing is problem number one. It is the lack of housing that is the prime reason for the high turnover of youth cadres at the plant: it is double compared among workers under the age of 23 compared to the plant's average.

We do have some cooperative house building but it practically excludes young people. Those who have worked at the plant no more than 1 or 2 years simply have no money to make their down payment. The Komsomol committee took up this question. We asked the plant's administration to grant young families loans of 3,000-4,000 rubles. In principle, the question has been solved positively. Loans will be granted for 10 to 15 year terms, interest free. Furthermore, on the petition of the Komsomol committee, after a certain period of time, let us say 5 years, one-half of the loan would be concealed; after another 5 years, one-half of the remaining portion would be concealed, and so on. With this petition, it is the committee's intention to take into consideration the attitude of the young worker toward his labor, participation in social life and, naturally, family circumstances.... I believe that loans for cooperative apartments will be a good incentive and will help to keep cadres in the VAZ.

[Question] Judging by all available information, having chosen the priority areas in their work, the association's Komsomol members are persistently implementing the plans. Nevertheless, the range of problems affecting young people is probably broader. Which problems trigger particular concern in the party and Komsomol organizations? Is it the attitude toward labor? The young family? Recreation?

[Yu. Arkhipov] All the problems which we describe as problems of youth affect the life of the collective one way or another, some more and others less. The most serious difficulties, in my view, are in the area of organizing recreation. You are asking about the attitude toward labor. Naturally, attitudes vary. At this plant, however, a great deal has already been and is being done for everyone to make full use of his talents and capabilities. By this I mean labor conditions, modern equipment, well-organized nutrition and opportunities for young workers to perfect their professional skills.

Naturally, we are also concerned with the problem of strengthening the young family. Suffice it to say that today there are 54 divorces per 100 marriages in Avtozavodskiy Rayon. This is a very high figure, although some time ago it was even higher. This means that although slowly, the situation is improving. In my view, the problem of housing is not primary, although Leonid believes

otherwise. The point is that in the past a very far-sighted decision was made and a great deal of courage was required to defend it. We began to build not temporary but permanent housing when we started building the plant and we have continued to follow this rule to this day. There has been no case of nonfulfillment of the housing construction plan. Thanks to this, the bulk of the workers have no housing problem at present. Good conditions have been created in the hostels as well: there are four people per separate two-room apartments, with all conveniences. Naturally, the needs of the people grow. Young people try to improve their housing conditions above all when they decide to get married.

Today, however, the range of worker needs, including those of young people, is significantly broader. It is indicative that when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev criticized us for omissions in the social area, it was a question essentially of the poor attention paid to cultural institutions, children's establishments and consumer services. Indeed, problems exist in those areas. In the past we thought more about housing and stores and providing a minimum of conveniences, so to say. No particular efforts were made to solve the other sociocultural problems. Today the narrowness of this approach is being felt, sometimes quite strongly.

[L. Kalashnikov] The Komsomol is well aware of this and is actively working in the social area. Thanks to the initiative of the Komsomol members at the assembly-forging facility, which is to use 4 free days for work on sociocultural projects, the Stavropol, the second motion picture theater in the rayon, opened ahead of schedule. The seemingly petty yet exceptionally relevant question is this: where to leave small children while adults are at the movies? As a rule, young families living in Togliatti have no relatives and most of the population in Avtozavodskiy Rayon are newcomers. The only solution was to open a kindergarten at the movie theater for use by the goers.

The organization of youth recreation is a serious problem. We submitted to the rayon executive committee a suggestion of assigning several coffee shops to various plant subunits. The decision to assign 10 such coffee shops has already been approved. In the past they were able to attract young people only by serving alcohol. Following the promulgation of the ukase on the struggle against drunkenness, alcohol was removed from their shelves and they had nothing else to offer. The Komsomol is redesigning them and turning them into discotheques. It has set up clubs for amateur singing, clubs for fighters-internationalists and for ceremonies for new workers who join the working class or the Komsomol. Access to students has been made easier by lowering the entrance fee.

The city has a youth center but its premises are small, no more than 100 square meters. This is by no means sufficient for young people in Togliatti. We requested of the executive committee to give us the restaurant premises planned for the trade center currently under construction, to be used as a youth palace. It has an area of 600 square meters. A decision to this effect has already been made.

[Yu. Arkhipov] In my view, the problem of youth recreation is much more complex than it may seem. For it is not merely a matter of scarcity of

cultural institutions, for even the few which are currently functioning have a small attendance. After work the people lock themselves within their walls and spend their evenings watching television. We must take them away from their homes! Do not misunderstand me, naturally, not away from their families or household affairs but from mindless time killing or drinking at home.

In general, the impression is developed that people somehow change when they leave the plant. In the shop there is the collective, joint work, and joint solving of production problems. What happens during days off? Try, for example, to gather people for even a small project such as clearing snow or mowing the grass! Naturally, this depends on the general, the civic standards, if you wish, which are developed by our entire way of life. Such standards frequently turn out low in young people. We frequently come across the following attitude: If this will benefit me in some way, I will participate. If not, you can do without me. You should see the efforts made to participate in building the first youth residential complex! Such an enthusiasm would be quite adequate. However, one can clearly sense in it a liking for consumerism. Imagine also the following situation: The youth residential complex has been built, the workers have obtained an apartment, they lock it up, leave the plant and go north to drive a truck. Does Leonid have any guarantee that this will not happen? He does not. Nor do I. That is what we must think about and analyze, and that is why Kalashnikov's social program scored so heavily.

[Question] What were the other candidates hoping for? How did they substantiate their views?

[L. Kalashnikov] Their thoughts were quite sensible and, in their way, they were right. Consider, for example, Yuriy Prishchepa, who emphasized quality. He developed his views in a knowledgeable and interesting fashion. For example, he sensibly pointed out that, in the final account, the quality of automobiles substantially influences the solution of social problems. If a better automobile is made, our earnings would be higher and, therefore, under the conditions of the economic experiment, we would obtain more funds to meet those same social needs. This was unassailable logic!

What about possibilities of mastering the manufacturing of new model cars? This is a task which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev set the VAZ workers during his visit to Togliatti: not simply to reach world standards but to become the fashion setter in motor vehicle manufacturing! This is a task of tremendous importance. It is interesting and once again it will be solved by young people! We see here tempting opportunities for the social development of the association.

In my view, there are no reasons to speak of consumerism in connection with the choice made by the Komsomol members. Whatever we invest today in a social program, in those same youth residential complexes, will become tomorrow improved work quality and higher labor productivity.

[Yu. Arkhipov] Let us wait and see. Generally speaking, the Komsomol members must look deeper at youth problems and approach their solution on a broader scale. They have taken up the building of youth residential complexes

persistently and energetically. Why not display the same energy in organizing educational work at home? Many unresolved problems may be found in that area! Consider those same adolescents: There are nearly 22,000 young people between the ages of 14 and 17 in Avtozavodskiy Rayon alone. What to do to interest them and keep them occupied? Coffee shops for young people can affect the behavior of 300 to 400 adolescents and no more. What to do with the rest? Left alone, they spontaneously find their own forms of self-expression and association. That is how "metallists," "rockers" and many other groups appear. It is not we who control the appearance of new informal youth associations but it is they that face us with accomplished facts, sometimes in such a way that emergency steps have to be taken.

It is at this point that the question of the new demands facing the Komsomol arises. I am convinced that today it is insufficient merely to express the interests of young people. The Komsomol must become their political leader. This is not a high-sounding statement but a vital need. For it is not merely a matter of the number of tasks related to developing sociocultural life or production, taken up by the Komsomol. Furthermore, we must soberly realize that alone the Komsomol is simply unable to solve many problems and that the approach to their solution should be substantially changed.

The current production intensification also increases nervous stress and physical fatigue. No relaxation measures are considered to fight this. Simply resting, such as sleeping or marking time by a worker is proving to be obviously insufficient. Sociologists and psychologists are persistently speaking of the need for properly organized entertainment which will provide psychological relaxation. According to VAZ sociologists, 85 percent of young people need such relaxation. What possibilities do we have in that area? Two movie houses for 340,000 people? Many of our production facilities, which employ as many as 20,000 to 25,000 people have neither a house of culture nor a sports club! The city's population is increasing steadily; meanwhile, in Avtozavodskiy Rayon the availability of houses of culture is 3.3 percent, of movie theaters 11.8 percent and libraries, 39.4 percent of standards. A somewhat better situation prevails in trade, public catering and consumer services but even there we are far below standards.

Today an urban residential district numbers 30,000 to 35,000 people. The features of building residential districts block the development of social relations which would be inherent in a village or an old urban development, and the people in a residential district may not know their neighbors even after 10 or 15 years. Is it amazing that frequently informal youth associations assume an unhealthy, an aggressive trend, while the energy of adolescents finds an outlay in crime, drunkenness and drug addiction? Naturally, as the experience of many cities has indicated, to a certain extent youth residential complexes solve the problem of restoring some of the lost social relations, for the future residents become well acquainted with one another in the course of their construction. All this, however, is like a drop in the sea.

Obviously, neither Kalashnikov nor the VAZ Komsomol would be able to solve such problems. Let me specify that they cannot solve them alone! The main task of the Komsomol, however, is to represent youth interests in dealing with

ministries, departments and local authorities, to fight for them and to defend them! The Komsomol must not wait to be asked or summoned to participate in solving a problem. It must raise problems itself, it must demand and promote. Only then can we speak of the Komsomol as a real sociopolitical force, and only then will the young follow it.

[Question] Naturally, at this point the question arises of the mechanism for implementing youth initiatives. Unfortunately, reality has shown the difficulty of implementing anything planned by young people, whether in the area of technical and artistic creativity or in social affairs. What kind of relations exist between the VAZ Komsomol and those on whom, in the final account, the solution of one problem or another depends?

[L. Kalashnikov] Relations vary. In some cases we are supported and in others we are not: there may be opposition on the part of architects or public catering institutions.... We must use a variety of means to achieve our plans. As a whole, we are supported by the plant's leadership and party committee. The most serious problems are solved by the plant "quadrangle." Many such problems, however, are outside the range of competence of the urban authorities. Take the youth palace as an example. In this initiative we were supported by Sergey Ivanovich Turkin, city party committee first secretary. When at subsequent stages obstacles were put in our way, we went to him and problems were solved. We maintain equally close working relations with the Komsomol gorkom. Yet the development of a rock club was obstructed. Youngsters who previously roamed the streets and whom we attracted with this interesting initiative undertook to turn into a rock club the premises of the wine store located in the semi-basement of a house building. This may have seemed simple but it took the local authorities 6 months to allow it....

Something else may also happen. Currently a council of soldiers-internationalists is being set up in Avtozavodskiy Rayon. Whenever obstacles appear, it is easier for these boys to eliminate them, than it is for me, acting in my official capacity, for their reputation is higher and was earned differently. I have asked for their help and practical experience has indicated that no bureaucrat has enough gumption to refuse something to young boys wearing combat orders and medals on their chests.

Today many general statements are being made to the effect that all paths are open to the Komsomol and young people and all they have to do is to dare. As a whole, however, the mechanism for the implementation of youth initiatives has not been developed. It must be created.

[Yu. Arkhipov]. It seems to me that Leonid somewhat simplifies the situation. Society will never be ideal and it is unlikely that we would ever be able to create an absolutely perfect system for implementing initiatives. Unfortunately, by no means are initiators and enthusiasts welcomed with open arms: they are inconvenient, they are troublesome, they make people work, they make others "get cracking." I consider that it is normal for young people to try something, to prove something, to struggle for something. Nothing comes easy.

Naturally, the mechanism for implementing initiatives must and will be organized. Actually, this is the purpose of the radical restructuring in the activities of soviets, ministries and departments, of developing self-government at work and at home, and expanding openness. The solution of this problem will be helped also with the adoption of the Law on the State Enterprise (association). Nonetheless, the Komsomol must as of now and start fighting for its ideas. One must fight for them and we shall give the Komsomol members comprehensive support in this respect.

[Question] But then, Yuriy Vasilyevich, it is no secret that even by being very persistent, some initiatives or young enthusiasts come across various prohibitions which bind economic managers and finance officials hand and foot.

[Yu. Arkhipov] Unfortunately, this is indeed the case and it is not only the young but the entire society that suffers. Frequently there is desire to work, money is available, but regulations forbid the use of such funds. By no means have autonomous activities been given organizational support; the rights of many public organizations should be reviewed.

[Question] Many are those who link the development of self-government with broadening the rights of a given state or public organization. What could be said about Komsomol rights in this respect? In your view, how can the Komsomol's more active participation in restructuring be supported?

[L. Kalashnikov] Generally speaking, the Komsomol has sufficient rights. Nonetheless, a problem does exist here. Above all, many of the rights are not legislatively supported and, therefore, are not guaranteed. The Komsomol—its Central Committee—has the right to initiate legislation. Why not use it more daringly by submitting to the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft law on youth? Such a law would legally codify the rights of Komsomol organizations, specifically at enterprises. I believe that no single order or decision of the administration, pertaining above all to young people, should have any juridical power without the agreement of the Komsomol committee, which represents youth interests. Furthermore, there are Komsomol representatives of central union and republic authorities in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of union republics. In other words, "on the top" they have the opportunity to defend the interests of young people and the Komsomol and the right to participate in projects of national significance on an official basis, so to say. On the lower levels, everything is essentially based on personal relations, traditions and existing practices. In my view, the most important thing today in youth politics is to close the gap between social expectations and the possibilities and rights of young people.

[Question] A particularly sharp discussion on problems which have accumulated in the life of the Komsomol itself and on what was preventing its organizations from becoming truly authoritative was held in the course of debating the draft statutes, on the eve of the 20th Komsomol Congress. It is being said that the Komsomol is gravely ill. It has even been said that it is not needed at all. How do you assess this situation and what specific changes do you suggest in the activities of Komsomol organizations?

[L. Kalashnikov] Our main illness is excessive organization and formalism in the work. To some extent we ourselves developed this style and, to another, we did not take the best features of other public organizations. This led to the spreading of bureaucratic management methods and paper shuffling, which are absolutely alien to the Komsomol and yet, paradoxically, are widespread within it. Today this must be eliminated firmly. How have we undertaken to do this at the VAZ?

There is a list of documents requested by the Komsomol Central Committee. Every year, according to schedule, I must submit them "to the top." It is gratifying that this year our Central Committee has drastically curtailed the amount of such requested information. Nonetheless, the list of documents is issued from above, by the Komsomol Central Committee, to a Komsomol obkom, gorkom, raykom and so on, is snowballing. As a result, all such papers are dropped on the primary organizations which should least of all deal with them but which should work more closely with people instead. Huge amounts of time go into drafting such reports and resolutions.

One year ago we drafted in our organization a small list of some 15 most necessary documents which the superior Komsomol leadership has a right to demand of its subordinates. It is true that in addition to documents required by the Komsomol system, a number of documents are demanded of us by the party authorities. Therefore, as a whole, the turnover of documents remains substantial. In order to ensure its further reduction we applied the first stage of the Komsomol ASU. We used the plant's computer center, from which we can obtain most of the information without spending time on drafting primary organization reports.

As to implementing projects, here as well a great deal of "slack" has accumulated. At our accountability and election conference we suggested a new style which, for the first time, would truly release the initiative of Komsomol members. Whoever wanted to speak could speak straight from the hall. The conference took 2 hours longer than usual. The number of speakers quintupled compared with the past! This means that there were several hundred percent more critical remarks, some of which not very pleasant, suggestions and questions. No single request to terminate the debates was received!

[Yu. Arkhipov] I remember the heated atmosphere in the hall. Occasionally I felt that things were getting out of control, in the usual meaning of the term. Naturally, the questions which were asked were quite different and frequently demagogic or simply immature. In their majority, however, the participants gave intelligent and constructive answers to them. The intellectual and critical potential of today's young people is high. However, in analyzing, sometimes quite profoundly, existing shortcomings, the youngsters are not always able to find their proper place in the efforts to eliminate them. Obviously, this is explained, in addition to everything else, by their age and lack of practical experience. So far the constructive principles in criticism are being poorly displayed.

[L. Kalashnikov] Today we must solve more daringly precisely the problems which excite the young people in our organization. Here is what usually happens: A Komsomol Central Committee Plenum has been held, it has set some

kind of general assignment and issued instructions that it be discussed at all conferences and meetings from top to bottom. But what if my collective, my primary organization, is concerned with other problems as well! In particular, unsolved problems and demands concerning the Komsomol were discussed in "The 12th Story," a television program about our plant. The sharpness of the discussions proved once again the need for a radical restructuring in the work of the Komsomol organization and broadening its autonomy. That is what we are struggling for today.

In our association we have reduced to one-third the number of so-called basic problems to be considered. We analyzed all of our decrees and it turned out that we had issued so many of them that it was simply impossible to verify their implementation. Today far fewer decrees are being issued and more time has been made available for their implementation.

[Question] Yuriy Vasilyevich, everything seems to indicate that model Komsomol self-government is being developed at the VAZ. Under such circumstances what is your view on the party's leadership of the Komsomol? What is continuing to cause concern in the work of the association's Komsomol organization?

[Yu. Arkhipov] This is a major problem. The initial successes of the VAZ Komsomol should not be overestimated, the more so since a large number of unresolved problems remain. The authority of the Komsomol committee and its secretary depends above all on the way they will be able to answer questions affecting the members of the organization. The ability and possibility of answering such questions are largely determined by the closeness of contacts between the Komsomol and the party organization and the plant's management. I cannot understand production or party organization managers who, in seeing people on personal matters, for example, would not ask the head of the Komsomol to be present. Actually, the committee secretaries themselves are to be blamed for the fact that they are not invited to attend such meetings.

A Komsomol secretary is not a small child! He is not invited? He should show initiative and demand to participate in solving problems affecting young people. He has been given the right to do so and the young people will see that their secretary can solve vitally important youth problems on an equal footing with the administration and the party and trade union committees; they will acknowledge him as their leader and will trust him. Komsomol secretaries are members of the corresponding party buros and, therefore, have both the right and the opportunity of influencing decision-making and execution. Perhaps they should be made strictly answerable as to how they exercise them.

[L. Kalashnikov] In thinking about relations between the Komsomol and the party organizations, I frequently recall the secretary of the party committee at the assembly-forging production facilities, when I was Komsomol committee secretary. His view was the following: "In solving a problem begin by doing everything you can and only then come to see me." This approach is shared by Yuriy Vasilyevich as well, and I agree with such management style. However, I consider that the party organization could support many Komsomol initiatives more actively.

[Yu. Arkhipov] I agree. As long as they are initiatives! The task of the party and the Komsomol committee is to support them, so that the people can determine their possibilities and to strengthen new efforts. As to the question of the party's leadership of the Komsomol, I believe that if everything is as it should be in the Komsomol there is no reason to interfere in its work. If there are hitches they must be tactfully corrected and proper suggestions must be made.

Today the party leadership of the Komsomol and interparty and intra-Komsomol work demand a new style of thinking, consistent with the main trend of restructuring, which is the democratization of society. In the party organization we try steadily to follow a line of collective discussion of problems in order to determine the real opinion of the party members, particularly in matters of cadre selection and placement. True rather than ostentatious collective discussions of problems prevents many errors. Today the people are expressing their views on managers and party secretaries, frequently in their presence, ever more daringly and openly. I am deeply convinced that every decent person would like to know what others think of him. Feedback in work with people is simply necessary, and even more so in the case of managers. Their elective nature is becoming increasingly asserted in our life and will greatly strengthen such feedback. For if you have not been appointed or imposed upon the collective "from above," but have been elected and given the confidence of those "below," you will feel differently. Responsibility, conscientiousness and decency will be stimulated not only by demand "from above," but also by control "from below." This will apply to everyone--party and Komsomol secretaries and economic managers. In turn, we urgently recommend to the Komsomol today systematically to pursue precisely such a collective, a democratic work style.

[L. Kalashnikov] The point is also that if people have shown their confidence in you you must observe the principle of accountability most firmly. So far, this principle has been observed only once every 2 or 3 years, during electoral periods. This is obviously insufficient. We must see to it that the collective keep a manager in a state of constant creative tension! We must mandatorily inform the people of what are the secretary personally and his committee doing. At the VAZ the accountability of Komsomol managers has today assumed the nature of a "trust voucher." In filling such vouchers, the Komsomol members will assess the work of the Komsomol committee and of all secretaries. If you have entrusted me with solving social problems, such as building a youth housing complex, and I have done nothing, I simply have no moral right to lead. I believe that the collective should be given the right not only to control "from below," and to evaluate its manager but also to get rid of him should he fail to justify the confidence placed in him. The following still happens frequently: A secretary will be elected, let us say for a 2-year term, would idle for 2 years, doing nothing. If, however, the Komsomol members are constantly bothering and urging him and evaluating his work, he would have to be active.

The restructuring in the Komsomol, which was initiated after the familiar party Central Committee decree, affected, unfortunately, essentially the upper echelons--the Komsomol Central Committee and the obkoms--and led to a reduction in personnel and shifting cadres. On the level of the primary

organizations, nothing changed. However, it is on their combativeness that, as we said, the increased prestige of the Komsomol is based to a tremendous extent. In order for the new system of Komsomol self-government, including its VAZ variant, to function efficiently, it needs a legal codification, either in the Komsomol statutes or a law on young people.

[Question] At the start of this talk we mentioned that the distinguishing features of the "electoral programs" of candidates for the position of Komsomol secretary were largely conventional, and that, one way or another, the Komsomol committee must deal with all problems--the social program and production affairs. What is the role which problems of upgrading production quality and developing new model cars, which were promoted by Leonid Kalashnikov's "competitors," play in the life of the VAZ Komsomol organization?

[L. Kalashnikov] We are dealing with these problems as we implement social tasks. Incidentally, Valeriy Satunkin and Yuriy Prishchepa are my "understudies," so that we are solving all problems together. The main thing is to set a target and sensibly to assign available forces and single out the most important stages in the systematic solution of the biggest and most important problems.

For example, it is frequently said at the VAZ that we, Komsomol members, are "influencing" the quality of produced automobiles and the development of new models. How real is this influence and how tangible are its results? This is by no means always the case. That is why, in solving these problems today we try to single out precisely features which can influence matters. One of them is the creation of "related quality chains." For example, the pressing shops make parts of the body, such as the doors, roofs, fenders, and so on, which are then sent to the body-assembly shop and the welding brigade. This is followed by painting the body and other technological operations. Each brigade has its limit of admissible defects. In concluding contracts between them, brigades within a single technological cycle form a quality chain and pledge to maintain this standard. The parties to the contract sum up the results of the work on a monthly basis and material and moral awards are granted, based on results. This is one way of ensuring the real influence of the plant's Komsomol on the quality of output or, in any case, on a sufficiently wide variety of parts. Today the plant has 432 Komsomol-youth brigades and if all of them are united within related chains and if proper conditions for their efficient and coordinated work are provided, a great deal can be accomplished.

This applies to other youth production initiatives as well. I believe that at each enterprise a "Komsomol-youth order" should be issued, with which the administration would assign to Komsomol members the solution of a major production problem, from beginning to end and not only part of it. I believe that today, more daringly than in the past, the administration should assign major projects to young people. We are fully entitled to such trust!

As we demand it, we must not ignore the fact that Komsomol initiatives in production, even those enjoying the full support of the administration and the party committee, frequently encounter outside obstructions. For example, the

electric car, which is so greatly needed by the national economy, which was developed by young designers as early as 1980, and which has won prizes at three exhibits, cannot be produced. Why? Because it lacks a power pack. Many similar cases exist....

One of our Komsomol-youth brigades formulated the initiative of reducing the number of defects in their output by a factor of 2, 3 or even more. They began to reduce such defects but it turned out that the necessary parts, which had not been received on time by the fault of related enterprises, were not available. Consequently, the brigade was forced to install in the automobiles defective parts, for the conveyer belt could not be stopped! This is what triggered a flashing red light for this useful initiative. Have you seen our testing grounds? They are crowded with unfinished automobiles, more than 10,000 of them! Yet the boys care and suffer for the fate of every car! What mood can they develop when knowing that a brand-new car will be left out, to rot in the snow, straight from the conveyer belt. Hardly anything would remain from any sort of labor enthusiasm!

[Yu. Arkhipov] The current situation at the plant cannot, naturally, fail to affect the awareness of the young workers. Disorder, when it becomes a system, whatever its origins, corrupts the people and drastically lowers the efficiency of our entire political and educational work. In this case economic errors become substantial moral and, if you wish, political losses.

Naturally, it is not simple to find a solution to this situation under the conditions of the current extremely imperfect economic mechanism in the course of which someone may violate procurement discipline and the young VAZ workers are then forced to correct the consequences of defective parts, for which they are not to blame. The successful implementation of the economic reform and restructuring as a whole greatly depend on the views of the young people, of our Komsomol. They must participate most actively in bringing order in the VAZ and in the other enterprises throughout the country, in all areas of our life. That is precisely the way in which the question was raised at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which emphasized the need for making comprehensive use of youth enthusiasm, activeness and energy in renovating society. Restructuring will demand of young people much greater initiative, persistence and civic maturity.

[L. Kalashnikov] However, it also presumes greater trust in young people!

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LENIN: ESSAY ON THE INTERCONNECTION OF HIS IDEAS

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[Article by Gyorgi Lukacs]

[Text] [Editorial note] This work by the outstanding Hungarian philosopher Gyorgi Lukacs (1885-1971) was written immediately after V.I. Lenin's death, in February 1924, and was not published in the Russian language. This is a document of a specific period, describing the way the skill of Lenin's ideological and theoretical legacy was mastered, captivating us with the freshness and immediacy of the impression of its author, an active participant in the revolutionary movement, who had met Lenin in person.

The essay was published at the onset of a sharp ideological struggle surrounding Lenin's legacy, at a point when a number of different and even conflicting interpretations of Leninism appeared, by no means all of them emphasizing its creative nature. Frequently the question of the method of Leninism was ignored and priority was given to a set of ready-made concepts. Conversely, Lukacs tried to explain the interconnection among philosophical, economic and political ideas and to understand the essence of Lenin's method. That is what makes his work interesting for, as the practice of building socialism and the experience of the international communist and labor movements has indicated, the wealth of Lenin's ideas has by no means been mastered fully. Dogmatism and revisionism caused a great deal of harm to the creative application of Leninism.

To Lukacs, this essay was a specific stage in the shaping of his Marxist-Leninist outlook. As he himself subsequently admitted, it shows traces of as yet unsurmounted entirely early views, related to the "left-wing infant disease in communism," unnecessary simplistic understanding of the unity between theory and practice in particular, and the role of awareness in the historical process. Thus, for example, in emphasizing the ability to see in all social phenomena of the imperialist age their main historical prospect—the "relevance of the revolution"—as the fundamental advantage of Lenin's attitude toward reality, nonetheless Lukacs does not have as yet a clear idea of the nature of this vision. A certain lack of clarity remains, which opens the possibility of interpreting the relevance of the revolution as some kind of a priori master key which eliminates the need for a specific analysis of the situation. It is only gradually, in the course of his work, that Lukacs

develops the understanding of the most important Leninist principle that Marxism seeks answers to specific questions not simply through the logical development of some common truths but, conversely, that it is only the specific study of concepts and interests of different classes that can reveal the importance of the common truth and its application to one question or another. Lenin based the relevance of the revolution not on the impersonal laws of social development but the study of the way such laws are refracted and manifested in the class struggle, in the objective situation and interests of the working class and its allies. With full justification, Lukacs makes the ability of the working class of implementing its revolutionary mission dependent on the level of development of a proletarian class awareness. However, the interpretation of this Leninist concept as well is, in Lukacs, still of a rather narrow and, to some extent, subjectivistic nature. As in other works he wrote in the 1920s, the book "History and Class Awareness" above all (1923), Lukacs ascribes a certain messianic aspect to proletarian consciousness, granting it the possibility of molding historical events. This reveals Lukacs's underestimating of Lenin's theory of reflection and his idea that dialectics is limited only to the area of social processes. Lukacs was able definitely to correct said weaknesses in his theoretical views not before the 1930s.

Gyorgi Lukacs's creative career indicates with utmost clarity that there is no wide high road in science and that one could attain Marxism, which is the heir and the peak of all preceding world culture, only with hard and independent mental work, constantly checking results against the interests and aspirations of the working people and the oppressed majority of mankind. What is important in Marxism is not simply a result but also a results combined with its development. That is precisely why philosophers who, in close connection with the tasks of practical revolutionary work, surmounting their errors and simplistic views, have tried to understand and substantiate Leninism as the creative Marxism of our age, are today not only of historical but also of topical theoretical interest.

The present work is an abridged version of "Lenin, Studie Uber Den Zusammenhang Seiner Gedanken." Berlin-Vienna, 1924.

Preface

The remarks which follow do not claim in the least to be a full interpretation of Lenin's theory and practice. They are an attempt to describe, in general lines, the interconnection between his theory and his practice, for it seems to us that it is precisely this interconnection that is not being realized with adequate clarity by many communists. The author of these notes well realizes how difficult it is to consider individual problems before the entity of which they are part has been identified. That is why we shall not even try to present here in their entirety and in accordance with a historically accurate sequence in which they appeared, the problems with which Lenin's life was so richly saturated. The choice of problems and their analysis and order of presentation were based on the single stipulation of establishing their interconnection as clearly as possible.

Vienna, February 1924.

1. Relevance of the Revolution

Historical materialism is the theory of the proletarian revolution. What makes it such is that it is essentially the concentrated ideological manifestation of the type of social life which is created by the proletariat and which determines its entire way of life; it is such because the proletariat, which is fighting for its liberation, acquires within it its own clear self-awareness. That is why the greatness of a proletarian philosopher or representative of historical materialism is measured in terms of the depth and scope with which his views encompass such problems and the intensiveness with which he can look beyond the phenomena in bourgeois society the trends which lead to a proletarian revolution and which, making their way within such phenomena and through them, ensure the efficient life and clear awareness of the proletariat.

On the basis of such criteria, Lenin is the greatest of philosopher of the revolutionary labor movement since Marx. We know what the opportunists are saying, being no longer able to either ignore or reduce to nonsense the fact of Lenin's universal importance. Lenin, they claim, was a big Russian politician. As to being the leader of the global proletariat, he was allegedly short of understanding the difference between Russia and countries with a more developed capitalism; allegedly he raised uncritically to the level of universal significance and applied to the entire world questions and answers of Russian reality, which precisely confirms his historical limitations.

They forget that it is precisely the same charge that was leveled in its time against Marx. Today it is no longer necessary thoroughly to refute this error and to prove that Marx did not in the least "sum up" individual cases, limited by place and time. Conversely, acting like a true historical and political genius, he considered from the theoretical and historical viewpoints the microcosm of an English factory in its social postulates, conditions, consequences and historical trends leading to its appearance, and the trends which raise the question of its further existence, which is nothing other than the macrocosm of capitalism as a whole.

It is precisely this that separates the genius from the plodder in science or politics. The plodder can only understand and distinguish immediate data, individual aspects of an overall picture of social events. Should he try to make a general conclusion, at this point he actually does nothing other than to interpret (in a truly abstract fashion) one aspect or another of a phenomenon, limited in time and space, as a "general law" and use it as such. Unlike him the genius, who has clearly realized the true nature, the really vital and effective main trend of the age, can see the way this trend is manifested through the events of his time and can see the basic, the decisive questions of the age as a whole even when he himself believes that he is discussing nothing but ordinary events.

Today we know that this precisely is the reason for Marx's greatness.

However, again today few people are aware of the fact that in terms of our age Lenin did exactly what Marx had done in terms of the development of capitalism

as a whole. Lenin invariably saw in the problems of development of contemporary Russia (starting with the appearance of capitalism under the conditions of a semi-feudal absolutism to achieving socialism in a backward peasant country) the problems of an entire age, namely the fact that capitalism had entered its final phase and the possibility of turning for the benefit of the proletariat and the salvation of mankind the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which had become inevitable at that stage. Like Marx, Lenin never "summed up" local Russian experience. To the contrary, with the eyes of a genius he identified the basic problem of our age wherever it was manifested for the first time, which was the problem of the approaching revolution. Only then did he discuss and explain all phenomena, whether Russian or international, on the basis of this the prospect--the revolution.

The relevance of the revolution is both Lenin's basic idea and the point which decisively links him with Marx, for even on the theoretical level, as a conceptual manifestation of the liberation struggle waged by the proletariat, historical materialism could be realized and formulated only at the point in history when its practical relevance was already on the historical agenda, a time when, to use Marx's words, not only the poverty but the revolutionary aspect "which would bring down the old society" became clearly apparent within the poverty of the proletariat. Naturally, in that case as well the fearless eyes of a genius were needed to be able to see the relevance of the proletarian revolution. The ordinary person could see the proletarian revolution only after the masses of workers were already fighting at the barricades, and even then he could not see it unless he had some basic Marxist training. In the eyes of the vulgar Marxists, the foundations of bourgeois society are so invincibly strong that even at a time of its most obvious upheaval all they wish is the restoration of a "normal" condition, considering crises no more than transient happenstances and the struggle itself which develops at such times the senseless self-sacrifice of naive people who dared fight the still invincible capitalism. They describe the fighters at the barricades as madmen; the defeated revolution appears like an "error;" those who build socialism and who have won the revolution (which, in the eyes of the opportunists, can be nothing other than a transient event) are even viewed as criminals.

Therefore, historical materialism--as a theory--has its premise in the universal and historical relevance of the proletarian revolution. In this sense, as the objective foundation of an entire age, it is both the starting point in understanding it and the nucleus of the Marxist doctrine.

Lenin restored the purity of Marxist theory in this matter. It was also he who formulated it more clearly and specifically, not in the least in the sense that he tried somehow to improve on Marx. His contribution was that he included in this doctrine the results of the progress of the historical process made since Marx's death. This means that, henceforth, the relevance of the proletarian revolution is not only becoming a universal-historical horizon opening to the working class fighting for its liberation; it also means that the revolution has already become the question of the day for the labor movement. Lenin reacted with perfect calm to the charge of Blanquism and similar accusations related to his basic stipulation. On the one hand,

neither Marx nor Lenin ever considered the relevance of the proletarian revolution and its end objectives as though one could arbitrarily implement them at any arbitrarily chosen moment. On the other, however, it was precisely the relevance of the revolution that both of them considered as the only reliable criterion of the accuracy of a solution of any ordinary problem. The relevance of the revolution determines the basic tonality of an entire age. Only the correlation between an individual action and the center, found exclusively on the basis of a precise analysis of the sociohistoric entity, makes such individual actions revolutionary or counterrevolutionary. The relevance of the revolution therefore means that any individual ordinary problem must be solved on the basis of its specific interaction with the sociohistorical entity and that such a problem should be considered as an aspect in the process of the liberation of the proletariat. The further development of Marxism, thus considered by Lenin, means that any current problem as such also becomes a basic problem of the revolution.

Lenin was not the only one to see the approaching proletarian revolution. However, what makes Lenin stand is are not only his courage, dedication and ability for self-sacrifice, compared with those who theoretically proclaimed the proletarian revolution as relevant but cowardly turned away from it when it became practically relevant, but also the theoretical clarity which could not be found even among the best, the most far-sighted and most dedicated revolutionaries among his contemporaries. For even they acknowledged the relevance of a proletarian revolution only as it was seen during Marx's time, as the basic problem of the age as a whole. However, they were unable to turn this accurate understanding into a reliable guideline for all current problems--political, economic, theoretical, tactical, agitational and organizational. Lenin was the only one who took this step in concretizing Marxism which, henceforth, was taking an entirely practical turn. That is why he is the only theoretician who raised the present struggle for the liberation struggle of the proletariat to the universal-historical level Marx had reached.

II. The Proletariat as a Leading Class

During the second half of the 19th century it became increasingly obvious that Russia which, as early as 1848, was the reliable bulwark of European reaction, was gradually moving toward a revolution. The only question was that of its nature and, closely related to it, which class had been summoned to play the decisive part in that event?

It is unnecessary to point out that the first generations of revolutionaries had formulated this question quite vaguely. They considered those groups which stood up to tsarism above all as a single entity--the people. However, from the class viewpoint, the concept of "people" was still rather unclear.

But even so the revolutionary movement in the development of Europe could not fail to influence the course of events and, correspondingly, the historical future on the basis of which the revolutionaries assessed the events. Here again the question inevitably arose: is European development, the development of capitalism, the inevitable destiny of Russia as well? Should Russia go through the hell of capitalism before it could find its salvation in

socialism? Or else, as a consequence of its unique features and the fact that, in particular, it had still preserved the rural community, could it skip this stage and find a direct way from primitive to developed communism?

This is not the place to describe the history of the theoretical struggle waged on this question, even in generalities. We must consider this problem only as a starting point, for it was in this connection that Russia faced the question of which class would become leading in the future revolution. The debate on whether Russia should follow the capitalist way or else was capitalism incapable of developing Russia; scientific-methodical differences as to whether historical materialism was a universally applicable theory of social development; finally, arguments as to the social class which was to become the true motive force of the Russian revolution, all rotated around the same question; all of them were ideological forms of expression of the process of development of the Russian proletariat, and aspects of the establishment of its ideological (and, respectively, tactical, organizational, etc.) autonomy in terms of the other social classes. This was a lengthy and painful process which each single labor movement must experience.

Lenin was not the only theoretician who argued against "final" Russian socialism and against the narodniks. This was understandable. The purpose of the theoretical struggle he fought was to point to the proletariat its independent and leading role in the future destinies of Russia. However, since the ways and means of this discussion could consist only of proving the fact that the typical way of development of capitalism (initial accumulation) noted by Marx applied to Russia as well, and that a viable capitalism could and would inevitably appear in Russia, for a while all these debates would put in one camp those who supported the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and, in the other, the ideologues of arising capitalism. The theoretical liberation of the proletariat from the general concept of "the people" did not as yet, in itself, lead to an understanding and acknowledgment of its autonomy and leading role. Conversely, the simplest nondialectical-mechanistic consequence of the acknowledgement of the fact that the trend of development in Russian economic life was leading toward capitalism seemed like a total acknowledgement of this reality and even urged it to take place as soon as possible. This was not the idea of the progressive bourgeoisie alone. Such a conclusion seemed at least just as convincing to the "proletarian" Marxists, who conceive of Marxism in a mechanistic rather than dialectical manner and who fail to understand that the acknowledgement of a given fact or trend as existing reality does not mean in the least that it should be acknowledged as a reality which determines our actions (Marx learned this from Hegel and freed this thought from any kind of mythology or idealism, including it in his theory). This also applies to people who do not understand that to the true Marxist there always is something which is more real and more important than individual facts and trends, namely the reality of the overall process, the overall social development. That is why Lenin wrote that "it is a matter for the bourgeoisie to develop trusts, to drive children and women into factories, to torture them inside, to corrupt them and to condemn them to extreme need. We do not 'demand' such a development nor do we 'support' it; we fight it. But how do we fight? We know that trusts and factory work by women are progressive. We do not wish to go back to artisan crafts, to pre-monopoly capitalism, to household chores for women. Forward, through the

trusts and others and beyond them, to socialism!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, pp 154-155).

It is only such a dialectical understanding of the inevitable trends of historical development that can provide a theoretical bridgehead for the mounting of an independent class struggle by the proletariat, for merely agreeing that capitalist development in Russia was inevitable, as claimed by the ideological supporters of the Russian bourgeoisie and, subsequently, the mensheviks, means that Russia should first of all complete its capitalist development. The bourgeoisie is the bearer of this concept, according to which it is only after this development has gone far ahead and only after the bourgeoisie has been able to eliminate the economic and political vestiges of feudalism and create a modern, capitalist, democratic, and so on, country, it is only then that the proletariat could initiate its independent class struggle. Any premature action by the proletariat in pursuit of its own class objectives would be not only useless, for the proletariat as an independent power factor could hardly count in the struggle between the bourgeoisie and tsarism, but also turn out to be fatal to the proletariat. This would frighten the bourgeoisie and weaken the strength of its strike against tsarism and make it fall into its hands. The proletariat, therefore, appears initially only as an auxiliary detachment of the progressive bourgeoisie in the struggle for a modern Russia.

It is entirely obvious, even if the debates at that time did not make this fully clear, that all of these differences were based on the question of the relevance of the revolution and the fact that the parties to the arguments (bearing in mind those who were not more or less conscious ideologues of the bourgeoisie) differed on the matter of considering the revolution as a topical problem, a current problem of the labor movement or else as a distant "final objective" which could have no specific influence on current decisions.

History confirmed the accuracy of the position held by Lenin and of those few who, with him, proceeded from acknowledging the relevance of the revolution. The bourgeoisie had stopped being a revolutionary class. It was self-evident that the economic process, the bearer of which the bourgeoisie had remained, and the results which continued to benefit it, meant progress compared with absolutism and feudalism. However, this progressive nature of the bourgeoisie as well was dialectical. On the one hand, the rising proletarian revolution made the alliance between the bourgeoisie and feudal absolutism possible, on the basis of providing economic conditions for the existence and growth of the bourgeoisie while the old regime preserved its political rule. On the other, the ideologically seduced bourgeoisie would leave the implementation of its own former revolutionary demands to the proletarian revolution.

That it was precisely in Russia that the bourgeoisie converted so quickly from a pseudoradical opposition to a supporter of tsarism is explained mainly by the fact that it was not an "organically" developed but implanted capitalism in Russia that had revealed, from its very first steps, its drastically monopolistic nature (predominance of large enterprises, role of financial capitalism, etc.). This meant that the bourgeoisie here was a smaller and socially weaker class than in other countries where a "more organic" capitalist development had taken place; at the same time, however, at the

large enterprises, the material foundations for the development of the revolutionary proletariat were being laid faster than the quantitative estimates of the growth rates of Russian capitalism could allow to assume.

But if the alliance with the progressive bourgeoisie turns out to be an illusion and if the proletariat, reaching a state of independence, makes a final break with the chaotic concept of "people," would it not find itself, precisely as a result of this independence, gained with such difficulty, in a state of hopeless isolation and would it not thereby commit itself to a clearly unpromising struggle? This self-evident and frequently expressed objection to the historical future pointed by Lenin would have made real sense had Lenin's refutation of the agrarian theory of the narodniks and understanding of the legitimate nature of the breakdown of agrarian-communal vestiges not been so dialectical. The dialectics of this process is found in the fact that the inevitable breakdown of these forms would follow a single direction only as a process of corruption, i.e., only in a negative sense. As to how precisely could this process develop positively, it would be totally impossible to determine by considering it alone. This process is determined by the development of the social environment and the fate of the entire historical entity. In specific terms, the economically inevitable process of breakdown of old agrarian forms, both those of the landed estates and the peasantry, could go either way.

Both solutions, according to Lenin, "in their way facilitate the conversion to higher technology and follow the line of agricultural progress" (op. cit., vol 17, p 124). One of the ways means decisively eliminating "from peasant life medieval (and even older) vestiges. The other was what Lenin described as the Prussian way, "characterized by the fact that medieval relations of land ownership are not eliminated immediately but slowly adapt themselves to capitalism..." (ibid., p 129). Either way is possible and, compared with the existing situation, either way is progressive economically. However, if both trends are equally possible and, in a certain sense, also equally progressive, which of the two will in fact prevail? Lenin's answer to this question, as to any other, is clear and simple: the class struggle.

Therefore, the outlines of the situation in which the proletariat must act independently, as a leading class, are depicted more clearly and specifically. The proletariat was the decisive force in the class struggle which would lead Russia toward a transition from medieval to modern times. Because of its objective class status, the peasantry would remain the hesitating stratum, the class whose fate is decided, in the final account, by the class struggle in the town, the fate of the town and of big industry, the state apparatus, etc.

It is only such an interconnection that puts the solution into the hands of the proletariat. At a given historical moment its struggle against the bourgeoisie may appear unpromising, assuming that the bourgeoisie has been able to eliminate feudalism in the Russian agrarian system. As long as the problem remains unsolved however, the spontaneous explosion of the enserfed and exhausted millions of rural residents is possible at any time. This is a spontaneous explosion to which the proletariat alone could give the only true direction, so that this mass movement may yield results truly beneficial to the peasantry; this is a spontaneous explosion which alone can create a

circumstance in which the proletariat could enter the struggle against tsarism and the bourgeoisie with all chances for victory on its side.

It was thus that within the Russian socioeconomic structure objective foundations were laid for an alliance between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Their class objectives were different, for which reasons their chaotic mixture, described with the vague narodnik concept of "people" was bound to break down. However, they were able to achieve their separate class objectives only by waging a joint struggle. Therefore, in Lenin's concept of the nature of the Russian revolution, the old idea of the narodniks is transformed dialectically. The vague and abstract concept of "people" had to be eliminated but only so that later, based on the specific understanding of the conditions of the proletarian revolution, a revolutionary differentiated concept of people, the concept of the revolutionary alliance of all oppressed, could arise. By virtue of this, Lenin's party considers itself with full justification heir to the truly revolutionary traditions of the narodniks. However, since the awareness which is needed in order to lead this struggle is found only in the class consciousness of the proletariat, the latter can and must become the leading class in the social changes brought about by the arising revolution.

III. Leading Party of the Proletariat

Therefore, the historical task of the proletariat is to free itself from ideological commonality with other classes and, on the basis of its specific class position and consequent independence of its class interests, develop a clear class consciousness. It is only thus that it will become able to lead all the oppressed and exploited in bourgeois society in the joint struggle against those who rule them economically and politically. Objectively, the base for the leading role of the proletariat is its status in the capitalist production process. However, to imagine matters as though the accurate class awareness of the proletariat, which ensures its ability to lead, could appear gradually, without any frictions and twists, as though the ideological proletariat could rise by itself to the level of its class-revolutionary vocation, would mean a mechanistic application of Marxism and, therefore, the creation of illusions totally alien to the real course of history.

Lenin was the first and, for a long time, the only, outstanding leader and theoretician who approached this problem from the theoretically central position and, therefore, from the practically decisive aspect, that of organization. By now everyone is familiar with the discussions on the subject of paragraph one of the statutes, which took place in 1903, at the Second RSDWP Congress. Such polemics could be understood only on the basis of the confrontation between the two views on the possibility of a revolution, its likely development and nature, and so on, although at that time Lenin was the only one who could see all of these interconnections.

The bolsheviks' organization stands out among the more or less chaotic mass of the working class as a group clearly aware of its objectives, as revolutionaries prepared for any kind of sacrifice. However, does this not create the danger that such "professional revolutionaries" would become alienated from the real life of their class and, thus separated, degenerate

into a conspiratorial group, a sect? Is not such an organizational plan merely a practical manifestation of the type of "Blanquism" which "perspicacious" and "deeply thinking" revisionists were able to detect, as they believed, in Marx? At this point it is not possible to determine the extent to which this accusation was valid in terms of Blanqui himself. The essence of the Leninist organizational plan was not affected by the question, for the reason alone that, according to Lenin, not for a minute does a group of professional revolutionaries set itself the task of "making" revolution or, with an independent bold action, lead the inactive mass and present it with the accomplished revolution. Lenin's organizational idea is based on the fact of the revolution, on its relevance. As a strictly centralized organization of the most conscious elements of the proletariat, and only of them, the party is conceived as an instrument of the class struggle in the revolutionary period. One cannot, Lenin frequently repeated, automatically separate political from organizational aspects. Those who approve or reject the Bolshevik Party's organization, regardless of whether or not we live in a period of proletarian revolution, has absolutely failed to understand its nature.

However, an objection may be raised from the exact opposite direction: it is precisely as a result of the relevance of the revolution that such an organization becomes unnecessary. In a period of becalmed revolutionary movement, the organizational unity of professional revolutionaries may prove to be useful. In a period of revolution, however, when the masses are in a state of most profound ferment, when in the course of weeks or even days they are acquiring extensive experience and greater maturity than would take decades to accomplish, and when even segments of a class which usually does not get involved in a movement even for most immediate advantages begins to act in a revolutionary manner, at such point such an organization becomes useless and senseless. It is wasting energy which could be applied better; it fetters, should it become excessively influential, the spontaneous revolutionary activities of the masses.

It is entirely clear that this objection takes us once again back to the problem of the ideological self-education of the proletariat. The "Communist Party Manifesto" characterizes with extreme clarity the attitude of the revolutionary party of the proletariat toward the class as a whole: "In practice... the communists are the most decisive segment of the workers' parties of all countries, always in the lead; theoretically, they are ahead of the mass of the proletariat primarily in understanding the conditions, course and overall results of the proletarian movement" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 437). In other words, the communists are the visible form of the class awareness of the proletariat. The problem of their organization is solved on the basis of the way the proletariat actually acquires its own class awareness and masters it fully. The fact that this does not occur by itself, not through an automatic self-manifestation of the economic forces of capitalist production and not through the organic growth of the spontaneity of the masses as such, is acknowledged by anyone who does not reject from the start the party's revolutionary function. The difference between the Leninist and other party concepts is based above all on the fact that, on the one hand, it takes more profoundly and consistently than others into consideration the economic differentiation within the proletariat (the

appearance of a labor aristocracy, etc.) and, on the other, the revolutionary cooperation between the proletariat and the other classes within the framework of a specific new historical future. It is precisely this that determines also the growing importance of the proletariat in preparing for and leading the revolution and the leading function of the party in terms of the working class.

Capitalist development which initially powerfully equalizes and unifies the working class, divided on the basis of local, shop and other features, now triggers a new differentiation. Its effect is not limited to the fact that as a result of it the proletariat no longer opposes the bourgeoisie as a single hostile entity. The danger is that some strata may exert an adverse ideological influence on the entire class. Having upgraded its status in life to the petit-bourgeois level and holding some positions in the party and trade union bureaucracy, the local authorities, and so on, despite its bourgeoisified ideology and insufficient maturity of a proletarian class consciousness (or as result of it) it acquire certain advantages in terms of education, daily administrative affairs, and so on, compared to the other proletarian strata. This means that its influence within the organizations of the proletariat could lower the awareness of all workers and lead them toward a silent alliance with the bourgeoisie.

In itself, theoretical clarity and the corresponding agitation and propaganda of groups considered clean from the revolutionary viewpoint cannot cope with this danger, for the reason that for quite some time such contradictions and interests are not manifested in a manner obvious to all workers, so that even their ideological representatives do not suspect for a while the fact that they have already deviated from the path dictated by the interests of the class as a whole. For that reason such differences could quite easily be concealed and presented to the workers as "theoretical differences of opinion," as purely "tactical differences" and so on. However, the revolutionary instinct of the workers, which is manifested from time to time in major spontaneous actions of the masses, is insufficient for protecting the achieved level of class consciousness, which is the result of subconscious activities, and a firm gain of the entire class.

By virtue of that same reason there is a need for the organizational autonomy of the fully conscious elements of the working class. Therefore, the course itself of this stipulation leads to the fact that the Leninist form of organization is inseparably linked to the prospect of the approaching revolution. It is only within such a state of interconnection that any deviation from the proper way by the working class could be fatal to its destinies; it is only in this interconnection that it becomes vitally important for the proletariat to have in front of its eyes the type of thinking and acting consistent with its class status.

The relevance of the revolution, however, also means that the social ferment and breakdown of the old social structure are by no means limited to the proletariat but extend to all social classes, for according to Lenin, "a revolution is impossible without a nationwide crisis (affecting exploited and exploiters)" (op. cit., vol 41, p 70). The more profound the crisis, the broader the prospects for revolution become. However, the more intensive the

crisis is the broader social strata it encompasses and the more varied become the spontaneous movements within it and the more confused and fluctuating become relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, i.e., between the classes the struggle of which determines, in the final account, the outcome of the entire affair. In order to win in this struggle the proletariat must assist any trend which contributes to the breakdown of the old society and support it. It must try to include in the overall revolutionary movement any spontaneous even still unformed movement of one oppressed stratum or another. At the same time, the approaching revolutionary period is manifested also in the fact that anyone dissatisfied with the old society tries to come closer to the proletariat or, at least, to establish relations with it. This, however, could also be extremely dangerous. Consequently, the Leninist idea of organization mandatorily includes the opposite, which calls for a strict selection for party membership from the viewpoint of a proletarian class consciousness and, at the same time, complete solidarity with and support of anyone oppressed and exploited by bourgeois society. It dialectically combines a clear ideological unity and universality and managing the revolution in the strictly proletarian meaning and in terms of the nationwide (as well as international) nature of the revolution. The menshevik organization weakens these two extremes, confuses them, and leads to compromise and thus combines them within the party itself. It turns away from the broad exploited strata (the peasants, for example) but includes in the party a great variety of group interests which hinder its unity of thought and action. Such a party becomes an incomprehensible mixture of various group interests and finds itself either at the tail end of the more conscious or spontaneously acting groups or else is forced fatalistically to contemplate events occurring beyond its control.

The Leninist idea of organization, therefore, means a double break with mechanistic fatalism, both with those who consider the class awareness of the proletariat as a mechanical product of its class status, as well as those who consider the revolution itself merely a mechanical action of fatalistically manifested economic forces, so to say, automatically leading the proletariat to victory providing that the "maturity" of objective conditions for a revolution are adequate. However, if one has to wait for the entire proletariat, united and conscious, to join the final battle, there would never be a revolutionary situation. On the one hand, there will always be (and the more developed capitalism is the more there will be) proletarian strata which will passively contemplate the struggle for liberation waged by their own class and even switch to the enemy camp. On the other hand, the behavior of the proletariat itself, its resolve and level of class awareness do not stem in the least with faithful inevitability from its economic status.

Strictly speaking, even the biggest and best party in the world cannot "make" a revolution. However, the way the proletariat may react to one situation or another depends, to a tremendous extent, on the clarity with which it understands its own class interests and the energy which the party can instill in it. Consequently, in a revolutionary period the old problem of whether a revolution can be "made" assumes an entirely new meaning and significance. This change is accompanied by a change in the relationship between the party and the class. Organizational matters acquire a different significance both to the party and the entire proletariat. The more revolutionary the main

nature of the age is, the sooner a grave revolutionary situation may break out at any moment. It is hardly possible to determine precisely in advance when and under what circumstances such a situation may develop. The activeness of the party is based on such an understanding of history. The party must prepare the revolution. This means, on the one hand, that it must try, through its actions (its influence on the actions of the proletariat and the other oppressed strata) to hasten the ripening of trends which lead to a revolution. On the other hand, it must prepare the proletariat ideologically, tactically, materially and organizationally for the type of actions which will be required in a grave revolutionary situation.

In this connection, internal party organization problems appear in a new light. Both the old viewpoint (which was shared by Kautsky), according to which organization is a prerequisite for revolutionary action, and the viewpoint of Rosa Luxemburg, who believed that organization is the product of the revolutionary movement of the masses, are one-sided and nondialectical. The function of preparing for the revolution, performed by the party, makes it both the producer and the product, a prerequisite and a result of the revolutionary movement of the masses, for the conscious activeness of the party is based on a clear understanding of the objective laws of economic development and its strict organizational autonomy constantly and fruitfully interacts with the spontaneous struggle and suffering of the masses. In a number of aspects Rosa Luxemburg came quite close to understanding this interaction. However, she failed to see its conscious and active element, the mainspring in the Leninist concept of the party, the party function of preparing the revolution.

Naturally, a revolutionary situation by itself cannot be a product of party activities. The task of the party is to anticipate the direction which will be taken in the development of objective economic forces and the way the working class should behave, based on situations which appear in the course of this development. Guided by this anticipation, the party must prepare the proletariat for the future, using all available means, materially, organizationally and spiritually, and make it aware of its interest in that future. Events and situations which appear in the course of this development are nothing other than the result of the manifestation of the economic forces of capitalist production, which act blindly, in accordance with the natural historical process. However, in this case as well, such actions are not mechanistic and fatalistic. As we saw in the example of the economic breakdown of agrarian feudalism in Russia, this process of economic breakdown, although it is the inevitable product of capitalist development, triggers the type of class consequences and new class stratification which could by no means be simply explained with such processes alone or understood as originating only from this process (if taken by itself). They depend on the environment in which they will appear and the decisive aspect which, in the final account, will determine their trend, is the fate of the entire society, the structural components of which make this process. However, in this entity a decisive role is played by the spontaneously breakthrough or consciously guided actions of the class. The stronger the social ferment becomes, the more severely violated the proper functioning of its "normal" structure is and the more substantively its socioeconomic balance has been disturbed or, in other words, the more revolutionary the situation becomes, the clearer this

decisive role becomes. It follows, therefore, that in the age of capitalism social development is by no means simple and direct. On the contrary, the interaction among different forces in the course of this development creates situations in which one trend or another may develop, providing that this situation has been properly understood and utilized. However, the development of economic forces which might appear to have irreversibly led precisely to such a situation, does not follow with equal inevitability the previous direction if the situation has remained unused and if no proper conclusions have been drawn from it; on the contrary, it frequently takes the entirely opposite direction. Suffice it to imagine the situation in Russia had the bolsheviks failed to seize the power in November 1917 and to complete the agrarian revolution. We must not entirely exclude the fact that in this case there may have been a "Prussian" solution of the agrarian problem in a counterrevolutionary, albeit modern, capitalist regime, compared with the regime of prerevolutionary tsarism).

It is only after the historical situation in which the party has to act has been understood that its organization can be truly understood as well. It is based on gigantic, on universal historical tasks which the age of decline of capitalism sets to the proletariat; it is based not the gigantic universal-historical responsibility which such tasks assign to the conscious leading stratum of the proletariat. Representing, on the basis of its understanding of society, the interests of the entire proletariat, and, indirectly, the interests of all oppressed and, in the future of all mankind), the party must combine within itself opposites which express these tasks and which proceed from the center of the social entity. We already emphasized that even the strictest selection of party members from the viewpoint of the clarity of their class awareness and unconditional loyalty to the cause of the revolution, must be combined with the readiness and ability to share entirely, without reservation, the life of the suffering and struggling masses. Any attempt at meeting one aspect of these requirements without another by a group which may consist even of good revolutionaries, is doomed to sectarian ossification (such was the basis of the struggle which Lenin waged against "leftism," ranging from otzovizm to anarchism). For the strictness of requirements facing the party member is merely a means for the entire proletarian class and, after it, all strata exploited by capitalism, clearly to see and realize their true interests and all that which indeed lies at the base of their subconscious activities, unclear thinking and confused sensations.

However, the masses can learn only in the course of their own actions and can become aware only in the course of the struggle for their interests, a struggle the socioeconomic content of which is always flexible and, for this reason, takes place under constantly changing conditions and means. The leading party of the proletariat can fulfill its purpose only if in this struggle it is always one step ahead of the struggling masses in order to show them the way. However, it must be only one step ahead, so that it may continue to guide them in their struggle. Therefore, its theoretical clarity is valuable only when it does not remain on the level of universal truths, i.e., of the purely theoretical accuracy of its theory but, conversely, invariably enhances theory in its specific study of a specific situation; an accurate theory always expresses the meaning of a specific situation.

Therefore, on the one hand, the party must be armed with theoretical clarity and firmness so that, regardless of the hesitations of the masses and even at the risk of a brief isolation, it may remain on the proper path. On the other hand, however, it must be sufficiently flexible and able to learn, so that it may find in any, albeit confused, manifestation of the will of the masses, a revolutionary opportunity which may not be realized by the masses themselves.

Such sensitive reaction to the life of the social entity is impossible without strictest party discipline. The organization must function always with the greatest strictness and efficiency so that immediately, if necessary, its readiness for change may be implemented.

The essence of history itself includes the ability steadily to create new features. Such new features cannot be predicted in advance with the help of any kind of impeccable theory; they must be recognized in the course of the struggle, on the basis of their initial embryos and consciously understood. It is not the task of the party to impose upon the masses some kind of abstract and far-fetched way of action. On the contrary, the party must constantly learn and master the experience and methods of the mass struggle. In the course of such learning, however, it must remain active as it prepares subsequent revolutionary actions. It must link what the masses have spontaneously discovered, thanks to their true class instinct, with the entirety of the revolutionary struggle and make this a conscious process; as Marx said, it must explain to the masses the meaning of their own actions, in order not only to maintain the continuity of the revolutionary experience of the proletariat but also consciously and actively to contribute to its further development. Organization must have its role as a tool in the integral nature of such knowledge and the actions stemming from it. Unless the party does this it may waste a development of events which it would fail to understand and, therefore, which would take place outside of its control. That is why any kind of dogmatism in theory and sluggishness in organization are fatal to the party. As Lenin said, "any new form of struggle is accompanied by new dangers and new sacrifices. It inevitably 'disorganizes' organizations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle" (op. cit., vol 14, p 8). That is why, for example, after the first Russian revolution, Lenin equally opposed those who wanted to abandon the seemingly useless and sectarian clandestine work as well as those who, unconditionally plunging into clandestine work, did not deem the use of legal possibilities necessary; that is why he condemned with equal anger both excessive liking of parliamentarianism and basic antiparliamentarianism.

The tremendous demands which the Leninist idea of organization sets to the professional revolutionaries has nothing utopian. Naturally, it has nothing superficially ordinary, nothing predetermined, no crawling empiricism. Lenin's organization is dialectical in itself, not only as a product of the dialectical development of history but also as a conscious motive force, i.e., it is both the product and the producer. It is the people who make their own party. They must develop a high degree of class consciousness and dedication in order to want and be able to participate in the activities of the organization: they become truly professional revolutionaries only within the organization and through the organization. Party activities do not replace the activities of the class but are the peak of its actions. That is why a

party which has been called upon to guide the proletarian revolution does not come ready to fulfill its leading mission; it could be said of such a party that it does not exist but is developing. The process of fruitful interaction between the party and the class is reproduced (naturally, changes) in relations between the party and its members. Lenin's concept of the party means a most decisive break with the mechanistic and fatalistic vulgarizing of Marxism. It is the practical implementation of its true essence, its most profound trend. "All the philosophers have accomplished has been to explain the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 4). (To be continued)

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READING ANEW...

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[Article by Kirill Yuryevich Lavrov, chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Theater Workers, people's actor of the USSR]

[Text] This was the title of a show staged at our Bolshoy drama theater in Leningrad, exactly 7 years ago. It was based on excerpts from the works about Vladimir Ilich Lenin by A. Korneychuk, N. Pogodin, M. Shatrov and V. Loginov. Soon it will be shown for the 100th time, and for the 100th time I shall appear on stage in the role I cherish. Naturally, I am not the only one to cherish it. However, everyone thinks of Lenin in his own way: the actor who plays this role will perceive Lenin differently from the theater viewer theater or the reader of a book.

M.S. Gorbachev said the following at the January Central Committee Plenum: "Today at this plenum we keep turning to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and to his thoughts and ideas. This is not simply a mark of the tremendous respect or acknowledgment of Lenin's authority. It is an urgent aspiration to restore under contemporary conditions, as fully as possible, the spirit of Leninism and to strengthen in our lives Lenin's requirements toward cadres."

Yes, now is the right time for rereading Lenin. This applies to all, to party, soviet and economic managers, workers, kolkhoz members, scientists and men of culture, each in his own way. Today the personality of Vladimir Ilich is a topic of increased interest. That is probably why for the past 7 years people wait at the theater entrance in the hope of buying a surplus ticket to see a show based on excerpts of familiar and sometimes universally known works.

The character of Lenin appeared in theaters and motion pictures almost half a century ago. Several generations of performers and viewers have come and gone since. Unquestionably, changes have also taken place in the perception of his personality and in the actors' work on it. However, a great deal has remained the same, above all on the stage. What precisely?

For example, here is what Maksim Shtraukh wrote. He was the first actor to play Lenin on the stage, on 5 November 1937, in a show based on "Pravda," the play by A. Korneychuk:

"A sculptor is sculpting Lenin. The work is within him. A painter is painting a portrait, it is within him. A poet or playwright writes about Lenin, the character lives in the words."

"What about the actor?"

As one can easily guess, all this is different for an actor. The actor himself must appear to the audience as the great man. The uniqueness of this situation is felt not only by the performer but also by those around him.

When in the course of filming "Man With a Weapon" Boris Shchukin show up in the studio, in make up, the people would stand up. I cannot say that that is exactly what is happening today. However, when I show up on the stage made up like Lenin, silence falls around me. In no other show does such a special tension develop behind the curtain, nor is there any such strong discipline. Such unique atmosphere developed when we were rehearsing for "Reading Anew..." on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Ilich's birthday. The fact that interest in the show has not declined is both a matter of our pride and food for serious thoughts. How amazingly dynamic this interest is and, for this reason, how eternally fresh. Actually, it has never been otherwise.

In the beginning, whenever the character of Lenin appeared on stage he was welcomed with ovations. The actor playing this role could not speak his lines for a few minutes. People who had experienced the death of this precious person only 13 years before that would suddenly see him alive. This was a shock. It was almost a miracle, albeit illusory and understandable. Emotions confused judgment. Everyone missed him. He was so greatly needed for his confidence in his own strength and faith in the triumph of justice. That was the reason for which at that time a portrait similarity was considered so important. It took 5 to 6 hours for an actor to be made up like Lenin.

In the recent past as well, the moment the character of Lenin would in the show, as a rule there applause would break out. I am referring to good plays, to classical Leniniana. In "Kremlin Chimes" by N. Pogodin, the audience can see Vladimir Ilich only in the fourth act. I remember the famous MKHAT performance in the 1960s, which had a splendid cast. The unforgettable Boris Livanov played the role of Zabelin. However, it was the relatively unknown Boris Smirnov who was welcomed with applause. Naturally, the applause was not for the actor but to Lenin. It sounded like an expression of respect, remembrance and hope.... Lenin was and remains the embodiment of the greatest humaneness and justice, the embodiment of socialism in the truly scientific and most honest meaning of the term.

I believe that the negative phenomena, alien to the nature of our system, which took place at the turn of the 1980s, made themselves be felt also in the development of the character of Lenin on the stage. This character began to darken, to diminish, to depreciate. Fifty years ago only five actors had been given the permission to play this role. In the second half of the 1970s there were more than 600. Large seminars were held in Moscow. Their participants sat in the hall, all of them looking like Lenin and, taking turns, "shared their experience." For the holidays, virtually all theaters would have a show about Lenin. Many plays and motion pictures dutifully included scenes in

which the character (fictitious or not) would be received at the Kremlin and would be dutifully given instructions. It was as though the great character was becoming, willy-nilly, a cliché, a stereotype. During that period there were also great successes on the stage but the trend was quite alarming and, alas, consistent with the spirit of the time. Maksim Shtraukh remembers a telephone call from a Komsomol raykom and the ensuing conversation:

"Please make yourself look like Lenin and come to our meeting."

"Why?" the actor asked.

"You will stand on stage while we report on our work."

"What then?"

"You will congratulate us for it."

The young people, the Komsomol leaders, did not understand the monstrous desecration they were planning. Not so long ago I personally received such invitations. Let us not now start throwing belated thunders and lightnings. Many other desecrations were committed at that time but considered entirely natural.

Today, when I come on stage in "Reading Anew..." most frequently I am welcomed with silence. In the first years (the premiere was in 1980) usually I was applauded. It was not me, naturally.... But why is this happening? It seems to me that this small fact proves the existence of a serious psychological restructuring in the way the audience is perceiving the character of Vladimir Ilich and an aspiration to become more profoundly familiar with and aware of Lenin and Leninism. Today people expect of an actor less a portrait similarity than an expression of Lenin's thoughts.

By their reaction in the hall I can sense the difference with which the show is perceived today, compared to 2 years ago, and how updated Lenin's character has become during this short time. Whereas in the past replicas about bureaucratism and bribery, which I would make on behalf of Lenin sounded to some people as almost seditious or, in any case, incredibly daring, today they fit the real concerns and problems of the audience in the hall. They have become organic part of the current restructuring. To me as well this role has become much more concrete.

Fate has been quite kind to me: I came to Lenin's character gradually, in chronological sequence. My first encounter was in 1970, in the play "Counsel Ulyanov." In the play Lenin was young. It was his Samara period. Six years later I played Lenin in the film "Trust." It dealt with the first year of the Soviet system and the first months. There was "Reading Anew..." and the film for television "20 December," which essentially dealt with the 1920s.

A difficult problem had to be solved in "Counsel Ulyanov." How could a young person rally around him people and become the ideological leader of the labor movement? How could this magic feature be explained? Was it erudition? Yes, unquestionably. This can be easily proved. I read and reread Lenin's early

articles, amazed by the amount of research and depth of understanding the essence of the contradictions which dominated Russia's reality of that time. Although there were other people, equally erudite, who had much greater practical and revolutionary experience, they had no following.

A great deal has been written on this topic by scientists and literary experts. These are good writings, scientifically scrupulous and poetically inspired. There were Gorkiy, Mayakovskiy.... It would be hard to find anyone better. However, I needed a somewhat different answer to such questions.

It is one thing to look from the outside. The way an actor looks at his role, however, can hardly be described as being from the outside. The greatness and scale of the personality with which, to one extent or another, albeit in his imagination and association, the viewer will identify the actor fetters the actor's initiative. The very first thought is the following: Brothers, how can I, a sinner, show up in front of people in the character of such a person!

In an old study on the psychology of feelings on the stage I found a curious comparison between love for the character in a play and love for a great public figure. Both involve feelings and emotions. However, they are different. The nature of the love for the character of a play has been changed and modified by the awareness that the personage is fictitious. The feeling of tenderness toward the character is of a different nature and the nature of the emotions is different. Love for the character of a play, the old book said, does not change so drastically the behavior of the audience; love for a public figure, however, could change all of a person's aspirations and character.

This book was published one year before the character of Lenin appeared on the stage. And it is this character in plays and public figure, who drastically changed all aspirations and the character of many people, that merged within a single character on the stage or the screen... I am not a specialist but I believe that in such a situation the actor acquires some sort of new psychological quality. It is not easy to understand. The only thing that I am sure of from personal experience is that a new sensation appears. It could be described as a sharpened feeling of responsibility--civic, party and historical.

But how to come on stage in the character of a great person? If greatness alone is emphasized failure is inevitable. Therefore one must act the person. As to Lenin's greatness.... It has long been realized by the audience. In my view this is precisely the reason for his magic power, the fact that this character is extremely human and, consequently, understood by anyone, and anyone who has not become callused cannot remain indifferent to it.

In working on this role I proceed from simple ordinary matters. That is why, above all, I wanted to take a close look at Lenin, to look at ordinary details. I was impressed, for example, by his photogenic quality, the unusual freedom of his pose and expression on his face. There was no strain, no efforts to look substantial. This too is an indication of the character of the person. I looked for a long time at his photograph through a magnifying glass. Amazingly, this physical closeness triggered a feeling of real

closeness. Naturally, those who had touched up the photograph had done good work, making minor traits even more likable.

I heard his voice recorded on a phonograph record and visited places where he lived and where he spoke. I read his works and the memoirs of his fellow workers. In a word, I laid the particular foundations on which an actor builds his work. I do not know of any other personality in which purely human and historical features blended so perfectly.

There is a totally indistinguishable house in Leningrad which I have visited frequently. I have memorized the layout of an apartment on the fourth floor. This was Vladimir Ilich's last hiding place. No actor's imagination is needed literally to feel here history in its specific features, to "sense" if you wish the mechanism for decision making, never equaled in terms of its universal importance and impact on the destinies of the earth.

How good it is that Lenin's "Letter to the Members of the Central Committee" has been preserved. It is a most human document concerning the greatest decision made in the history of mankind. The time of its writing is precisely known. "I am writing this on the evening of the 24th. The situation could not be more critical. It is absolutely clear that now any delay in starting the uprising would be truly deadly" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], vol 34, p 435). That is how the letter begins. I have reread it frequently. It not only contains a brief program for action but also reveals the mood of the person, the most intensive workings of his mind in a crucial and extreme situation. The emotion in it is revealed in the exclamation points and in the style itself of this short work. It reveals extremely refined considerations and passion.

"At all cost, this evening, tonight, the government must be arrested; the cadets and others must be disarmed (or defeated if they resist)."

"No waiting is possible!! All could be lost!!" (ibid.).

Thus, soon, for the 100th time I will appear on stage in "Reading Anew..." However, I am still working on this role. Reality makes me do so. It presents me with events and difficulties quite similar to those I describe as Vladimir Ilich. Life asks of us to reinterpret a great deal.

Here is a specific example. Since I am a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, an old woman turned to me with the request to help her move down from the sixth floor of a house without an elevator. Trying to pin down the chairman of the rayon executive committee turned out to be extremely difficult. He simply avoided me. Do not consider me immodest: He was avoiding a people's deputy!

If only that had been an isolated case.... Alas, the personnel of many soviets frequently take their own viewpoint as the only true and unquestionable one and look at deputies as bothersome visitors. They believe that problems to be solved and the type of policy to be pursued are seen more clearly in their offices. Lenin's stipulation that "...It is the apparatus that must serve politics...and not politics the apparatus!!" (op. cit., vol 43, p 373) sounded quite topical at the January Central Committee Plenum.

In the show Lenin is talking to a young bureaucrat, member of the Moscow Soviet. She too is "making high policy," and defending "state interests," assuming that for the sake of the good of millions of people the life of one person could be sacrificed and that it is possible, in the final account, to make an occasional error. To which Lenin objects: If your "state" viewpoint can ignore such simple prosaic interests of the citizens of that state, who needs it? In your position you are affecting the fate of millions of people. You have been entrusted with dealing with specific human lives. No one has assigned you to multiply the number of enemies of the Soviet system. Let us be honest: Many of today's bureaucrats are doing precisely this.

I had to force my way to see the chairman of the rayon executive committee. His secretary insisted that he was not in his office. But he was there and I told him a few things, similar to what I say in the play: "A person holding such a position must love people very much." I used other, sharper words. Now, when I am on the stage talking to the young bureaucrat, although sticking to the text, I speak more sharply. I am led to this not only by today's clashes in life but by Lenin himself.

What I reread most frequently today are his letters, notes and drafts of his speeches during his period of work with the Sovnarkom. These are amazingly human documents, and incredibly relevant. I can remember a very recent period of "secret-party-central committee-idiotic suppression of foul cases of foul red tape with no publicity" (Lenin's expression) and I become better aware of the type of hopeless stagnation from which we are beginning to pull out. I come across bureaucrats in various departments and feel within me, as would any normal person, Lenin's indignation: "Everyone in our country has sunk into the lousy bureaucratic swamp of 'departments.' Great authority, intelligence and willing hands are needed to wage a daily struggle against this." That is the way I would like to describe today some departments, using the same epithet which Lenin used in his letter to A.D. Tsyurupa on the subject of a draft directive issued by the Small Sovnarkom.

Lenin's personality is inexhaustible. This can be felt particularly clearly in crucial moments of domestic history. The likely reason is that the fate of Vladimir Ilich himself was linked to a sharp change in the destinies of mankind. That is why today, with the initiated restructuring, many people have developed the urgent need to know Lenin better, to study in depth his character, to come closer to him. In any case, not to come closer physically, by looking at a photograph through a magnifying glass, but to sense almost physically a similarity of thoughts, ideas, concerns and aspirations. I am amazed sometimes at the great similarity which exists between that which happened so long ago and what is exciting us today. This is natural, for today's changes are of a revolutionary nature. When we speak of the need for a decisive acceleration and when we are fighting lovers of postponing and pious considerations, it is high time to sound the alarm: "We must not wait!!" (using two exclamation points as in the famous "Letter to the Members of the Central Committee").

Sometimes such similarity of problems becomes depressing. Alas, when I excoriate in the play bribe takers in the 1920s, and when I say that bribes are obstructing and will obstruct for a long time to come our political

building as the greatest hindrance which should be eliminated through the strongest possible measures, for bribe is still stronger than the sharp steps we take, and when I say, on behalf of Lenin, such things, the audience accepts my words as a most topical contemporary problem. I try to create in the people not only anger pointed at contemporary bearers of an old social evil but also shame: After so many decades we have been unable to implement the behest of our teacher!

I look once again at Lenin's notes from the 1920s and suddenly I find lines as though borrowed from today's press. Here are some: "Today the most topical problem is that of housing in Moscow.... The Moscow population is bursting from the increased number of employees.... Make a list of people's commissariats which must reduce their personnel every week..." (op. cit., vol 52, p 65).

I would very much like for my contemporaries to see in Lenin also his amazing goodness, total love of people, of his courageous and unfortunate nation. His anger and intolerance are only the vivid expressions of his goodness and love. Remember that "a heart which is tired of hatred will not learn how to love." I believe that this is one of the mandatory features of the character of a revolutionary and a characteristic of any truly revolutionary age. It is precisely in such a dialectically inseparable unity of opposites that, in my view, we find the essence of our social policy in its psychological refraction. We must not forget this unity or separate intolerance from goodness.

Today's change of cadres is a difficult, complex and painful process. I know this from the reform in the theater. Restructuring is taking place not only by cleansing as from all kinds of thieves or bureaucrats. We must get rid of people who, by the development of circumstances, found themselves in the positions of plant or theater director. In the final account, we must simply reduce the incredibly inflated administrative apparatus. From those distant years of the 1920s Lenin is teaching us a splendid lesson in principled-mindedness and tactfulness in solving such difficult and delicate problems.

To the best of my abilities, I shall try to depict this lesson on the stage in my talk with the 24-year-old member of the Moscow Soviet, participant in the revolution, who does not suspect that it is precisely she who is a young bureaucrat, for which reason she is not allowed to assume her position. Bureaucratism is the enemy and the fight against it tolerates no compromise. However, the girl is not to be blamed for what she has become; it is the fault, among others, of low standards. In other words, lack of compromise does not exclude the study of a dangerous disease and tactfulness in selecting the cure.

The situation as imagined by the playwright was quite typical of those times. It included known personalities. For example, in December 1920 a decision was made to reduce the number of members of the People's Commissariat for Food collegium. Naturally, some people felt hurt. In working on this role, I repeatedly reread Vladimir Ilich's letter to one of them. The considerations on the basis of which this decision was made, he wrote, "should in no way be inter-reted (despite intrigues on this subject) in the sense of mistrust of an

individual, underestimating individual capabilities, and so on" (op. cit., vol 52, p 32). Lenin asked the person to understand the turn in his fate as a political necessity and advised him to refute any slander, should it appear, in another field of conscientious work. Could it be that the reduction of the administrative apparatus is taking place so slowly in our country because we do not always clearly consider this process as a political (precisely political!) necessity.

I have a small bookshelf in my room backstage containing books related to my current role. Hundreds of volumes have passed through this professional library at the Bolshoy drama theater in more than 30 years. They come and they go. Gradually, however, I have gathered a shelf of books that stay—the works of Lenin. It is here, in this room, that I turn to him in planning my new character on the stage or an unexpected event in my life. I reread....

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GREATER FAITH IN THE COLLECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 55-57

[Article by Sergey Aleksandrovich Kalinin, party committee secretary, Ural Heavy Machine Building Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze]

[Text] The most important part of the draft Law on the State Enterprise is the section on "enterprise (association) management and self-governing of the labor collective." In order for managing and self-governing to be maximally efficient the contradictions in this edition of the draft should be eliminated.

Article 6 (items 2 and 3) stipulate that managers on all levels, from brigade leader to director, will be elected. They may be relieved from their position on the basis of a resolution passed by the production collective. However, article 8 (item 4) reads the following: "...Enterprise management workers, specialists and employees will be certified. Based on the result of the certification the enterprise manager will decide on promoting or demoting members of the personnel...." In some situations such items may become mutually exclusive. Perhaps certification should take place on the eve of elections and the results submitted to the labor collective. Other choices are possible as well. The main thing is the need for a logical interconnection and a logical demarcation between the range of competence of the labor collective and of the manager as a one-man commander.

Some stipulations in the draft should be made clearer from the juridical viewpoint, for the law must become the effective legal mechanism in the implementation of the party's economic strategy. Item 3 of Article 8, which stipulates that "Enterprise leading cadres must possess high practical, political and moral qualities, display socialist enterprise....," and so on, may be considered a traditional pious wish. What are the specific criteria in the assessment of such qualities? In the case of choosing a brigade leader or a foreman, it is easier for the collective to provide an objective character reference. Such people are always among the collective and they are frequently in touch with the individual brigade or section workers. But what about elections for shop chief? What is the basis for promoting someone to this position? The Uralmash plant has as a huge collectives in which direct contacts between an ordinary working person and a shop chief are quite

infrequent and cannot be a base for an objective assessment of the latter. To an even greater extent this applies to higher officials.

Nor do elections protect us from the fact that in a labor collective the majority may vote for a "suitable" superior, someone who would lower assignments, who would not exert excessive pressure, who has connections "high up," and so on.

In order to avoid this, the following should be taken into consideration in organizing elections:

First. Choose among several, at least two, candidates.

Second. The nomination of candidates should be based on a specific scientific foundation. This raises the question of how to determine the qualities of the worker more accurately. At Uralmash, 2 years ago a system was introduced for the selection and the placement of cadres. Its application was preceded by extensive preparations and a thorough study of all available experience. Today the entire promotion reserve is known. Every year, by 1 January, a list is drawn up for replacements of temporarily absent subdivision managers, consisting of individuals on the reserve list.

The opinion of the labor collective is widely taken into consideration in the certification of managers. Demands for recalling a manager are drafted anonymously and the data are then processed with a computer. This method has enabled us to obtain extensive information on the heads of all shops, their deputies, and the foremen. We made the following experiment to test the worth of this method: The features of the official were described to some labor collectives without naming the people. The people quite quickly identified the individuals with 100 percent accuracy. The opinion of the collectives, as reflected in character references, allowed the administration and the party committee properly to determine the areas in which they must work with middle-level managers.

Currently the plant's party committee, together with the personnel service, is drafting a system for rating the party committee secretaries in production facilities and party organizations in shops and departments. Nonparty members of the collective will be asked to participate in drawing up character references.

Furthermore, the party committee has recommended that the recommendation of the labor collective be taken into consideration in accepting party candidate members. This is particularly important in places where there are few party members.

Let us assume that a nominee has been selected on the basis of character references. How should the elections themselves be held? I believe that it is proper to take into consideration not only the practical and moral qualities of the candidates but also their programs for improving the work of their subunit.

Third. In order to elect a truly worthy comrade, in our view reserve candidates should not be appointed but elected. We recently held elections for reserve candidates for the positions of shop chief, deputy chief and power worker. A total of eight candidacies were considered, one of which was submitted by the participants at the meeting. All of them were elected as members of the reserve; some of them, however, were voted in by a small majority. This offers the management and the party committee a good opportunity to consider why a given candidate triggered objections and what features of his character are inconsistent with the demands of the collective. It would be even better for wishes aimed at improving the work style to be expressed at the meeting itself, in the course of the discussion of candidacies.

The party committee personnel and the cadre services participate in organizing and holding "try-out" elections and, on the basis of practical experience, draw up recommendations for other collectives. Elections for the reserve will take place in all subdivisions. This is good training for leading cadres. We demand of the comrades belonging to the reserve to describe the way they have implemented the wishes expressed to them and the way they have taken into consideration critical remarks, 1 year later, at the meeting of the labor collective. If the collective considers that individuals have not justified their confidence they are removed from the reserve and others are elected in their place.

Such a system of work with the reserve reduces errors to a minimum or eliminates them entirely.

Currently a special commission is at work at Uralmash on the discussion of the draft Law and the State Enterprise. The commission classifies and sums up the suggestions submitted by the working people on improving the draft law. Essentially, they apply to the election of managerial cadres. The conclusion based on the entire variety of suggestion is that the rank and file workers would like to have managers who are knowledgeable, daring and exigent and, above all, who may be respected for their purely human qualities.

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STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE ENTERPRISE

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[Article by Viktor Georgiyevich Starodubrovskiy, deputy director of the International Scientific Research Institute of Management Problems, doctor of economic sciences, professor]

[Text] Ensuring the active role of enterprises in the reproduction process is the foundation of the new concept of economic management included in the draft law.

The main theoretical and practical concepts which help to apply the advantages of socialist production relations are the following:

1. The new role of the enterprises in ownership relations.

The draft law describes the labor collective as the owner of the property of the whole nation. It is given the necessary socioeconomic rights for the exercise of this function. This new understanding of ownership relations is the basis of the stipulation of the enterprise as a socialist commodity producer, operating in accordance with the plan and contracts, total cost accounting, self-financing and self-governing, handling a certain share of the property of the whole nation.

This concept which is promoted in the draft law must be considered above all from the viewpoint of its consistency with the objective requirements of the contemporary stage in production development. The only criterion we have is practical experience. It clearly proves that the weakest link in the realization of socialist ownership is related to developing a proprietary attitude toward national means of production. Naturally, various methods are used in developing a feeling of ownership of our public property. It is obvious, however, that the basis and the most essential criterion of this feeling is the attitude toward the means of production at one's job and in the labor collective. A proprietary attitude toward them is possible under two circumstances: first, if the worker is engaged in performing not only the necessary operations related to this work but also the functions of owner of the means of production. Second, if he can benefit as a result of the better use of productive capital and lose from making poor use of them. So far, these two conditions have not been seriously implemented. The first requires

extensive democratization, which has been undertaken by the party, and the daily participation of all working people in management. The second requires a direct linkage between individual wages and end enterprise results.

This precisely is the purpose of total cost accounting, self-financing, extensive enterprise autonomy and self-government. Obviously, they will increase enterprise independence compared with the past. However, they will increase it in such a way that the attitude of the working people toward the people's property as toward their own will not weaken but strengthen. Therefore, this is a line which does not weaken but strengthens relations of nationwide socialist property and without which it will no longer be possible to strengthen and develop such relations. It is only from the abstract-scholastic viewpoint that such strengthening of independence represents a step backwards. From the specific historical viewpoint this is a step forward, which allows us to increase the consistency between socialist production relations, the level of production forces and objective development. It is precisely this dialectic of the contemporary stage that, in my view, expresses the concept included in the draft Law on the Enterprise.

However, the stipulation of Article 4 to the effect that the property is managed by the enterprise seems to me insufficient. It would be more accurate to say that it is at the disposal of the enterprise, emphasizing the functions of the enterprise as the subject of nationwide socialist ownership.

2. The role of the enterprise in self-governing relations. This part of the draft offers the opportunity for taking a major step forward in the implementation of the most important ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Defining the new role of the general assembly of the labor collective, the labor collective's council, the conversion to the election of managers on all levels and establishing the term for which a manager is elected are of essential importance. In some respects, however, the draft law is behind decisions already made at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This applies above all to the principle of electing one of several candidates, as already codified in the plenum's resolutions. Another puzzling feature is the purpose of ratifying the choice of the elected manager by the superior authority. If this implies the right to reject the elected candidate elections become meaningless. It should also be pointed out that both the general assembly and the council have the right to recall a manager prior to the expiration of this term, should he fail to do the job.

Marxist-Leninist theory raises the question of the participation of the working people in management in broader terms. Lenin repeatedly emphasized that it is a question not only of elections but of daily participation by every working person in performing a given management function. He wrote the following: "Our purpose is the free implementation of state obligations by all working people after attending the 8-hour "classroom" lesson in production work; this transition is particularly difficult but it is the only guarantee for the definitive establishment of socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 204). It would be expedient, therefore, to add in item 1 of Article 7 that together with the trade union organization the council of the labor collective will organize a system ensuring the daily

participation of every member of the labor collective in performing functions in the exercise of people's control and management within and outside the enterprise.

3. Role of the enterprise in planned development, democratic centralism and planned management. Its functions and autonomy in these areas of social relations have been increased significantly.

Practical experience has indicated quite clearly that excessively detailed individual planning of activities of each individual enterprise from the center does not strengthen but weakens planned development and centralism in production management. It triggers petty supervision which fetters initiative. It strengthens equalization in planning and in assessing activities and in incentives and reproduces the system of planning "from the achieved level," since the central authorities lack reliable information on the objective possibilities of the enterprise. This hinders any interest in substantiating planning and weakens planning standards. Mandatory assignments frequently conceal planning arbitrariness. Assigning suppliers to consumers on a centralized basis for the sake of better satisfying requirements in fact leads to the opposite, for it strengthens the monopoly status and the diktat of suppliers who dominate consumers and deprives the latter of the freedom of choice.

A new type of centralism is needed in order to surmount such phenomena and to allow the enterprises to fulfill their active role. This does not mean taking over their functions but letting the center deal with problems which cannot be solved on any other level of production management. This includes, above all, strategy, ensuring the unity of the national economic plan which encompasses the entire public production process, structural reorganization and improvements in proportionality, and a unified scientific and technical, economic, investment and social policy. As far as relations between central authorities and enterprises are concerned, the former must substantially increase their role, which is not one of issuing orders but of serving the enterprises and creating all the necessary conditions for their efficient work, based on their interests and on economic management methods.

The central planning authorities are usually considered spokesmen for the state interests. Unquestionably, they play a special role in this connection. However, while emphasizing their role, we cannot fail to see that they cannot be the spokesmen of nothing but the common interests but of departmental interests as well.

Hence the basic conclusion that the objective national interests can be determined and realized quite completely only if all subjects of the socialist production process act together, which also means taking their conflicting interests into consideration. The solution of contradictions among national, collective and individual interests cannot be reduced either to relations based on orders from above and obedience from below or to a pastoral picture of total unity of action and total harmony of interests. Unquestionably, the basic task of the entire economic mechanism and of perfecting centralized management and conversion to economic management methods is a coordination of economic interests among all subjects of the socialist production process.

Its essence is to assert the national interest not despite collective and individual interests but through their satisfaction.

The new quality of the enterprise as an active subject of the entire system of socialist production relations should consist not only of a strict obedience to the center, manifested through planning discipline as stipulated in the law, but also the ability to oppose the center when its decisions are unsubstantiated, and the possibility of influencing them.

Supplements to the draft law would be necessary, based on such characteristics of the enterprise as the subject of socialist production relations.

First of all, the law does not single out the principle of economic autonomy as a basis for enterprise activities. Such autonomy is described in item 5, Article 2, of the draft law: "In order to ensure the active implementation of all expanded reproduction functions, the enterprise operates on the basis of extensive economic autonomy. It is granted all the necessary rights to carry out its activities and can make decisions which do not conflict with the law in handling all production and social problems. Individuals who restrict or violate enterprise rights stipulated by the law will be held disciplinarily and criminally liable." Item 5 could be reduced primarily to its second paragraph.

Second, the active role of enterprises in their relations with superior authorities could be secured only on the basis of reciprocal responsibility. The draft law stipulates that losses caused to the enterprise as a result of implementing instructions issued by a superior authority, which has violated enterprise rights, should be compensated by this authority. Disputes on compensation for losses must be settled by the State Arbitration Authority. We believe that the real problem is much broader and more difficult. Above all, the stipulations of the superior authority which has violated enterprise rights should not be obeyed. Since such violations were steadily committed in the past, this stipulation should have been included in the law. Naturally, arguable cases may occur, demanding the intervention of the arbitration authority. Furthermore, losses subject to compensation may be caused not only by illegal but also by legal actions taken by superior authorities. That is why it would be expedient for the draft law to envisage a compensation for all losses and for the State Arbitration Authority to review all disputes between enterprises and superior authorities.

My suggestion is to include at the end of item 1, Article 9, among the list of relations between the enterprise and the superior authority, relations indicating reciprocal material responsibility. The final paragraph in item 3 of that article should read as follows: "Losses suffered by the enterprise as a result of observing the instructions of the superior authority must be compensated by the authority which has issued them. The State Arbitration Authority will settle the matter of compensation for losses should a dispute on this matter break out between the enterprise and the superior authority or else if losses resulting from decisions made by the superior authority are detected in the course of a consideration of a dispute between enterprises. The enterprise must inform the authorities of the prosecutor's office of any case of restriction or violation of its rights."

Third, in my view, the principles stipulated in Article 10, which describe the role of the enterprise in the area of planning, are inconsistent. Under present circumstances, it is mainly the multiplicity of plan indicators that is the main channel for petty supervision, bureaucratic administration and restrictions imposed on the economic activities of enterprises. Let us consider the new features which the draft law introduces in this area. Item 3 of Article 10 lists the following forms of centralized influence on the enterprise, as stipulated in the plan: control figures, long-term economic standards, state orders, and ceilings of material resources allocated on a centralized basis. Item 5 also speaks of nonspecific indicators issued to the enterprise with the 5-year and annual plans. What changes are made with this law compared to previous practices? Apparently, none. The range of control figures and their functions are not defined and they could successfully encompass a significant percentage of the functions performed by the present detailed assignments. The number of indicators is not limited. It is hoped that state orders will not cover the entire variety of output, for in addition to them it is also a question of the orders directly placed by consumers. However, this is no more than an assumption, for we know nothing of the content of state orders other than that they are mandatory. Therefore, they could simply be reduced to the level of ordinary assignments.

I believe that it should be stipulated that the control figures are not directives but are issued for information purposes only. Furthermore, the new socioeconomic content of state orders, compared with traditional mandatory planned assignments, should be indicated. If we look at the approach taken by several fraternal socialist countries to the problem of state orders, its features are determined above all by the following: They apply not to all output but to goods of particular importance to the national economy; the manufacturing of such goods is backed by scarce resources issued on a centralized basis which, incidentally, makes a state order quite profitable to the enterprise; conditions are created to ensure the economic profitability of the order, such as granting, if necessary, subsidies and benefits, which create an interest in such orders, conditions to compete for them and the possibility of apportioning them among enterprises on the basis of contests and competitions; issuing and accepting orders on the basis of the reciprocal obligations assumed by the parties, as follows: on the part of the enterprise, to fulfill the order within the stipulated time on a high quality level; on the part of the authority issuing it: to back it with the necessary resources, subsidies and benefits.

It would be expedient in characterizing indicators to apply the method used in backing industry with material resources and converting to wholesale trade, i.e., to indicate the nature of the long-range development of indicators.

It would be relevant at this point to mention the more common and basic difficulty related to the drafting and adoption of the law: the law must stipulate the type of relations which will regulate enterprise activities in the future, i.e., a condition which has by no means been reached yet. Furthermore, it should provide a possibility for using intermediary transitional methods, for a leap to the new condition cannot be made immediately and cannot be reduced merely to legislative and organizational steps. The complexity of this assignment has made the law quite conflicting.

In some cases the law clearly defines the new forms of relations which are not being applied today and should become effective immediately after its adoption. This applies, for instance, to the system of self-government, many forms of economic responsibility related to compensation for losses caused to other parties, the use of accountability based on the order in which demands for payment are received, declaring malicious violators of financial discipline insolvent, closing down inefficient enterprises and others. In a number of cases this is based on transitional forms a considerable number of which are beginning to be put to practical use in the experiments under way. This creates the danger of codifying for future use transitional and temporary methods which will no longer be needed. An example of this is found in the situation we mentioned involving the system of plan indicators, the unjustified multiplicity of economic standards governing wages, the assignment of tasks for meeting the needs of enterprises for material resources entirely by material and technical procurement authorities, which is inconsistent with wholesale trade, and others.

Therefore, the draft should make a clearer distinction between forms of economic management and administration of enterprises, which will be retained in the future, and those the retention of which is not mandatory or perhaps even desirable. In particular, it should be stipulated that as planned management improves, as balancing and upgrading the efficiency of cost accounting are enhanced and as industry becomes subordinated to the demands of consumers, the forms of centralized control of enterprise activities, taking into consideration sectorial features, could be reduced to control figures used for information purposes only, and to a set of economic standards.

4. The role of enterprises in relations of distribution according to labor. The draft law is based on the principle of direct linkage between the wage fund and end results of cost accounting activities, expanding the rights of enterprises in the use of cost accounting, including the conversion of the entire labor collective to new wage rates and salaries. This enables us to combine a substantial increase in the economic responsibility of the labor collective for overall results of the work with a considerable increase in the incentive role of wages and the possibility of allowing everyone to benefit from the results of greater efficiency.

However, we agree with the numerous statements published in the press on the need for a single standard which would regulate the forming of the entire wage fund without stipulating its details. If the supervisory authorities establish any malfeasance in the use of the fund, such violations could and should be opposed through publicity, which would erect much stronger barriers blocking malfeasance compared to detailed stipulations which would actually restore the petty regulating of enterprise activities.

Nor does it make any sense to stipulate specific methods for determining wage savings, as is the case of item 5, Article 14, which discusses wage supplements for combining skills and expanding servicing areas.

5. The role of the enterprise as commodity producer. Naturally, limiting petty supervision from above does not mean a weakening of responsibility. It is rather a question of substantially increasing economic responsibility and

reciprocal control between suppliers and consumers, horizontally, so to say. The mechanism of this responsibility is the planned regulatory mechanism of commodity-monetary relations.

Practical experience firmly teaches us that under socialism the opposite nature of social and commodity output does not mean that direct social relations develop the more strongly, the more limited commodity-monetary relations become. In practice this approach leads to a weakening of incentives for the growth of efficiency and responsibility for end results. Dialectics teaches us differently: at the present stage of development the direct social nature of labor and a planned economy can be strengthened not despite commodity-monetary relations but by using them actively and purposefully.

That is precisely why we consider of essential importance and as quite comprehensive the stipulations concerning the enterprise as a socialist commodity producer, full cost accounting, self-financing, a certain price-setting "freedom," wholesale trade in means of production and a drastic increase in financial responsibility.

Full cost accounting, the purpose of which is to make the collective more responsible for its own results and firmly block dependency, is inseparable from the application of commodity-monetary relations. As practical experience indicates, whereas one could frequently reach an agreement with planning authorities, one cannot argue with objective laws, which include the law of value.

As we know, according to the law of value it is those who achieve lower production costs compared with the socially necessary ones and, therefore, higher profitability and better satisfaction of demand who benefit. Under present circumstances this mechanism is virtually inapplicable, for planned assignments and even economic standards are, as a rule, individual. This means that those who give more to society are by no means entitled to more income but could even receive less. Hence a drastic weakening of incentives for increasing production efficiency, scientific and technical progress and a better organization of the work. The advantages to frontrankers could be guaranteed only if budget withholdings from profits or enterprise income are based on uniform standards, at least in the case of large groups of enterprises or groups of sectors. This principle is actually found in item 3 of Article 17 of the draft, which stipulates that standards governing profit distribution should ensure equal demands made by the state concerning the use of production and labor resources by the enterprises and could be set as differentiated rates of withholdings, taxes and others. This, however, is an excessively broad formula. It should be stipulated that standards, scales and rates of taxation should be the same, as a rule, for a given group of sectors.

The uniformity (averaging) of profit distribution standards creates the necessary prerequisites for enterprises to compete for lower production costs. Competitiveness, the principle of economic competition or, so to say, socialist rivalry are necessary prerequisites for the utilization of the possibilities provided by full cost accounting. Commodity-monetary relations can actively influence the production process if competitiveness means

competition among enterprises for consumers. This is actually reflected in the draft in the discussion of the principle of economic competition among enterprises for the fullest satisfaction of consumer demand. However, this principle is not being implemented with sufficient consistency throughout the law. It should be such as to ensure above all, in the course of the functioning of a wholesale trade system, the availability of means of production. We believe that the draft accurately includes in wholesale trade all forms of unrestricted commodity marketing, whether through direct relations between producers and consumers or through wholesale trade bases, and stipulates that in the future this method should be expanded and become the main method for providing material and technical supplies to enterprises. However, the draft does not include the stipulation that the enterprise could independently choose suppliers and consumers of its output. The right to break a contract is stipulated only in the case of systematic violations of requirements concerning the quality of output and contractual stipulations. However, if no possibility of choice exists, the possibility of eliminating production monopoly and the diktat of supplier become fictitious, even if the same product is manufactured by several enterprises. The absence of this right seems even more paradoxical if we consider that direct relations with other enterprises in CEMA-member countries can be independently established by the enterprise.

Taking this into consideration, we suggest that item 3 of Article 15 read as follows: "Under conditions of wholesale trade, the enterprise establishes independently economic relations with suppliers and consumers and chooses the means of applying them: directly or through a procurement and marketing enterprise. The consumer enterprise is given priority in preserving existing and expanding direct long-term economic relations with manufacturers. Material and technical supply authorities may not revise existing direct long-term relations among enterprises."

The creation of a comprehensive production development, science and technology fund is a major step in the self-financing of expanded reproduction. This will allow the enterprise systematically to pay for the entire cycle from scientific research to investments and to master the production of new commodities and use of new technologies. This procedure is combined with an essentially broader enterprise autonomy in the area of investments, assigning to the state and the national economic plan a determining role in making the largest structure-forming capital investments, including particularly major reconstructions.

Nonetheless, a number of additions should be made to said stipulations.

I suggest the following addition to item 3 of Article 4: "Funds released as a result of accelerated turnover of working capital may be added to the enterprise's production development, science and technology fund or kept as a financial reserve."

The second paragraph of item 2, Article 18, should be expanded, with the stipulation that banks will pay the enterprises interest for the use of temporarily available funds in their accounts. It is illogical to limit the use of such funds only to the production development, science and technology

and the social development funds. Society is interested in having the maximally possible share of enterprise funds consist not of surplus material values, as is typical today, but of cash. It should stimulate this process.

It is particularly important in a socialist planned economy for monetary circulation to be an impeccable and incorruptible controller of the quality of all national economic proportions and all national economic planning. That is why the planned mastery of commodity-monetary relations means not centralized control of the production of all consumer values but, above all, total control of monetary circulation in the entire national economy.

Commodity-monetary relations place in the hands of the socialist state a most important planning lever: the ability of economically limiting enterprise needs which, as we know, are based on solvent demand. Such demand on the part of the enterprise is determined by the conditions governing the distribution of income, the size of funds remaining at its disposal and the prices of resources. In establishing averaged standards for the distribution of income, in coordination with the financial plan, influencing price levels and planning monetary circulation, the state has the possibility of ensuring the strict material-financial balancing within the national economy and thus of controlling solvent demand. In this case, the consistency between demand for commodities and resources and the planned possibilities of public production can be achieved while granting extensive independence of enterprises in determining their own specific production program and choosing their own suppliers and consumers. The planned control of commodity-monetary relations through means which are not opposed but consistent with their nature, under conditions of full cost accounting, becomes one of the most important tasks in reducing any lack of control and radically upgrading the level of centralized planning.

However, this is an exceptionally complex task, for it requires the elimination of all violations of commodity-monetary relations, which have accumulated in the course of decades, due to underestimating their objective role in socialist production, such as planning in physical terms, price disproportions, surplus of cash and cashless funds in economic circulation, which create a disparity between actual demand and the planned possibilities of the national economy.

This greatly determines the results of the influence of cost accounting on production. The same type of cost accounting (from the viewpoint of its organization) will operate differently under different socioeconomic conditions. Economic balance and saturation of demand will mean actual control over the results of the effect of the law of value. Only thus could we hope to achieve real responsibility of suppliers to consumers.

Another equally important feature is that said results lead to the development of an economic situation which prevents price increases by commodity producers. This is one of the basic problems in the planned use of commodity-monetary relations. The interest of the producer in charging high prices becomes subjective. Possibly, we could also say that the fuller cost accounting becomes, the more interested the producer becomes, for making money by charging high prices is, naturally, much simpler than by improving quality

and resource economy. For this reason, said interest will increase rather than diminish. It can be countered administratively or economically. Practical experience has indicated quite clearly that the administrative centralized setting of a huge number of prices for specific commodities cannot solve this problem.

The economic way is the only realistic one. It means that under the conditions of saturated demand price increases will mean limited opportunities for marketing, thus conflicting with the interests of the producer. In other words, the producers' interest in charging high prices should be countered by the collective interest of consumers in lowering prices. In particular, under total cost accounting, one of the first and most likely of its consequences will be that the consumers of new equipment will oppose the current forms of scientific and technical progress and will not purchase new equipment because of its high price. It is very important not to fear said consumer pressure but to use it in holding back price increases and truly making new equipment a source of real production intensification, enhanced economic efficiency and improved basic indicators of enterprise activities.

In cases of unsaturated demand and scarcity, that same cost accounting would have different consequences and results. They may include "shortcuts" in production variety, elimination of underprofitable or unsuitable items, increased demand inconsistent with the possibilities of the national economy, caused by the availability of surplus money in circulation, and inflationary trends.

The full utilization of the possibilities of cost accounting is determined not only by its organization at enterprises but also by creating all the necessary economic prerequisites for its ability to influence production efficiency.

The major difficulty in drafting and adopting the Law on the Enterprise is that it inevitably must be quite general. It neither can nor should include many specific features of enterprise activities. However, the following question arises naturally: Could this make it inefficient? And what does it guarantee to the enterprises?

Above all, it opens the door to major change on which the radical reform of the economic mechanism is based. It is important for the necessary amendments to this law to be such as to make this door to open reliably. As to guaranteeing progress and observing the rights of enterprises, this problem, in my view, has two aspects.

The first is that a number of stipulations in the draft law of conditions in which the enterprises will find themselves will force them to act more efficiently and more responsibly. Examples of this are found in the stipulations on compensating for damages to partners, paid out of the income earned by the labor collective, and converting to a calendar sequence of payments as bills are submitted. This will force the enterprise to improve its financial condition and struggle against irregularities in order to promptly settle accounts for procured commodities, for otherwise it would find itself unable to meet the payroll.

The question which remains, however, is the following: What guarantees are provided for the implementation of many other concepts? Will the number of indicators be actually and substantially reduced? Will there be a conversion to wholesale trade in means of production? Will a procedure be set for declaring an enterprise insolvent and closing down the most unpromising enterprises, and so on? As we know, this depends both on people and on many different circumstances. We believe that it is impossible to provide strictly legal guarantees for the systematic implementation of all such processes. The guarantees could stem only from us. The main question is whether the draft law will provide conditions for the enterprise to become a truly active subject of public production and management and whether it will acquire the possibility of really to oppose any bureaucratic management methods and violations of its rights. We believe that the foundations for this could be laid with some changes in the draft law.

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EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 64-65

[Text] A. Kurennoy, senior teacher, school of law, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, candidate of juridical sciences:

The Law on Labor Collectives was promulgated in 1983. It stipulates that the labor collective is the main cell of the socialist society. It codifies the rights of such collectives in enterprise management. A most thorough "coupling" of the two laws—on the enterprise and the labor collective—should be made in order to eliminate duplication (and some different approaches). The inadequate efficiency of the current law is explained less by the imperfection of its legal form (although this too exists) than by the fact that the collectives will be granted rights which the enterprises will not have. Let us start with what the enterprise can do and only then define the rights of the collective.

It would be expedient to include in the law a number of problems which are of strategic importance to the enterprise and which should relate to the competence of the general assemblies of labor collectives, granting them the right to consider other basic problems affecting the interests of the overwhelming majority of the workers. Current affairs related to enterprise functioning should remain within the competence of their administrations. Production democracy does not mean solving all production problems by committee. One-man command in solving most problems is not eliminated but merely placed under the control of the collective.

We consider essential the stipulation of the full autonomy of the enterprise (the labor collective) in solving cadre problems. In terms of leading cadres this question has been reflected in the draft Law on the Enterprise, which stipulates that they must be elected. The electoral procedures should be determined by the labor collective itself, otherwise possible recurrences of "bureaucratic democracy" are possible.

An equally important problem is that of the autonomy of the enterprise in solving other cadre problems. The enterprises alone must determine how many and what kind of workers they will need in order to function normally.

Under the new circumstances, it is necessary to enhance the responsibility of enterprises to other enterprises (labor collectives), of superior authorities to enterprises, of administrations to brigades and sections, etc. So far a kind of "double standard" has prevailed in this area: the enterprise may or may not fulfill its plan or procurement contract but the individual workers or brigades nonetheless are paid their full wages. Conversely, whereas a brigade was materially responsible for all losses it has incurred in the course of the production process, the responsibility of the administration, which failed to provide the necessary production conditions, was more of a symbolic nature. Under conditions of full cost accounting such situations become intolerable.

S. Dzarasov, doctor of economic sciences, and V. Shcheglovskiy, candidate of economic sciences:

The draft law contains an excessive number of declarative stipulations instead of strict and unequivocal formulations.

For example, there is no need to explain in the law elementary truths about the qualities which managerial cadres must possess, as we read in item 3 of Article 8. Conversely, we need clarity on procedural questions in electing subdivision managers by direct and secret balloting. In our view, said managers should have the right to choose and appoint suitable assistants. The law must sensibly combine the election of the former with the appointment of the latter.

By no means are the practical aspects of converting enterprises to full cost accounting made entirely clear. For example, what to do with those with a low profitability or whose profits are insufficient for self-financing? We also know that major disparities exist among sectors and enterprises in the extent to which fixed assets become worn out and, consequently, that their self-financing needs are different.

The influence of these and other factors which cannot be assessed in full in advance cannot be equalized by introducing group standards, which is frequently considered a solution.

The draft law mentions but does not stipulate the limits and forms of worker self-government. The question of the labor collective's council and, particularly, of its relations with the trade union committee, remains unclear. We know that in our country virtually all workers and employees are members of trade unions. V.I. Lenin considered the trade unions the broadest and all-embracing organization of working people and a school of management. Life has not refuted but, conversely, confirmed the need to observe Lenin's formula on their participation in management. In our view, without sufficient grounds the draft law replaces the trade unions with the general assembly of the labor collective and the trade union committee with the council. It seems to us that this substitution is unjustified. We must increase the role of the trade unions and the law must define more precisely the correlation between the rights and obligations of trade unions and enterprise administrations.

The draft law includes a number of stipulations which do not pertain to the principles governing enterprise activities. Thus, item 4 of Article 2 enumerates the work of the state, such as planning, competitive design and production, limiting the monopoly status of enterprises, and others. The state may have a number of such functions which are not enterprise functions, for which reason they should be deleted from the draft law.

In order to define the legal standards and specific forms of economic management, the economic, organizational-administrative and sociopsychological nature of full cost accounting, i.e., self-governing and self-financing, must be described in greater detail. This will require both experience and time. Therefore, in our view, it would be more accurate not to hasten with passing the Law on the Enterprise but introduce it in two stages: provisionally at first, and definitively in 3 to 4 years.

B. Khabitsov, director of the Main Information-Computer Center, RSFSR Minleskhoz, candidate of economic sciences:

The most essential question in drafting the Law on the State Enterprise is the legal concept on which it will be based: Shall we try to include in it the entire infinite number of solutions for all cases or grant the enterprise true independence, after enumerating the restrictions. The second seems the only acceptable one if we wish to achieve real progress and truly new forms and methods of management.

Low production efficiency is the price we pay for the concept that "anything which is not permitted is prohibited." In order to counter this, the law should proceed from the familiar legal principle that "all that is not prohibited is permitted."

We must condemn on the highest level and most categorically the practice of "permitting" laws and the practice of the mandatory application of the law going through a system of "permissive" instructions issued by the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, the Central Statistical Administration, Gosstroy, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and others.

It would be expedient, in our view, to make perfecting economic legislation the obligation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which would become the only authorized authority to solve such problems on the union level.

Economic legislation should reflect territorial and national specifics and, therefore, should also be within the competence of the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics. Streamlining economic legislation through soviet republic authorities would allow the more flexible regulating of economic activeness and economic structures throughout the country.

A. Baubekov, senior teacher, department of philosophy and political economy, Tselinograd Pedagogical Institute:

The draft law insufficiently expresses the principle of material responsibility in relations between the enterprise and its personnel.

Therefore, I suggest adding the following to item 4 of Article 14: "The enterprise will systematically implement the principle of reciprocal material responsibility in relations with the collectives of structural subdivisions and individual members of the labor collective in cases of violation of obligations by any one party."

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MAN IS ALL-IMPORTANT. ROUNDTABLE MEETING OF THE JOURNALS 'KOMMUNIST',
'KOMMUNIST UKRAINY', AND 'FILOSOFSKA DUMKA' IN KIEV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 66-75

[Continued from KOMMUNIST No 5, 1987]

[Text] [Editorial note] The roundtable participants paid considerable attention to the various aspects of pursuing a strong social policy and its scientific support. The statements by B.V. Soldatenko, first secretary of Leningradskiy Raykom, Ukrainian Communist Party, Kiev, and S.P. Pechkurov, party committee secretary at the Khimvolokno Production Association in Kiev, described with specific examples the way in which the creation of favorable working and living conditions lead to an acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the area and the labor collective. They also noted that such work is sometimes done by the trial and error method, without proper scientific-methodical support. For the time being, the science which deals with such problems is not always ahead of developments but explains events with hindsight. The social scientists, however, are aware of the urgency of the problems. What are the reasons for such lagging and how can it be surmounted?

V.A. Odintsov, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent, department of party building, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Higher Party School:

I believe that the question of enhancing the human factor and developing the individual is closely related to implementing the principle of social justice. We are pleased to note that interesting works have been published by the party on this topic, although the articles emphasize the implementation of primarily the second part of the basic socialist principle. The impression is created that the first, "from each according to his capabilities," is not ascribed such an essential significance. However, this precisely is the main humanistic sense of socialism, which leads society to the development of the individual, whereas the second part deals with the economic means of attaining this objective. I think that today we should most seriously undertake to develop in every member of society a readiness to make maximal use of his capabilities.

[Editorial note] It is unnecessary especially to prove the difficulty and comprehensiveness of the problem of human capabilities and their maximally efficient application. In their statements, the participants also touched upon and reformulated a number of topical yet so far little studied problems. This especially applies to health, which is one of the main and totally irreplaceable human resources.

A.V. Tokar, doctor of medical sciences, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Gerontological Institute:

The way some social processes affect human health is by no means a matter of indifference to us. Today's demographic situation is complex. The population is aging throughout the world. The average age of working people in our country is reaching the 40-year level. In the past we used to say that age differences between machine tool and textile workers, whether they were 30 or 36-40, made no difference. The difference was small. However, past the age of 30, a spinning worker can no longer maintain the production rhythm. The monotony of her work becomes irreconcilably conflicting with the physiology of the human body. Our social and production institutes must see to it that such people are retrained and redirected into production; conditions must be created so that their work may be consistent with their physiological characteristics. This problem is being solved quite timidly as yet although we do have some experience.

The question of the attitude toward the retired is even more crucial. Let us frankly say that removing elderly people from active work may seem quite attractive from the viewpoint of renovating manpower and worker knowledge. However, what are the sociopsychological and moral consequences of this act? On the purely economic level as well, their retraining and reassignment may not yield substantial benefits.

It is time to take most seriously into consideration the state of health in vocational training and, particularly, manpower assignments. The state of health of a person may not allow him to perform some types of work. It is much easier to take this into consideration at the beginning than to correct errors afterwards.

M.G. Shandala, director of the UkSSR Ministry of Health Scientific Research Institute of General and Communal Hygiene imeni A.N. Marzeyev, member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences:

The time has come to consider the medical and physiological aspects of restructuring. To the individual the strictly physiological breakdown of a stereotype is a rather painful process. Consequently, it should be accompanied by compensating social and other factors. When we eliminate a customary work style we must take into consideration possible stresses, neuroses, and so on. The same applies to acceleration. In this case, despite the great determining importance of economic and ideological criteria, we must take into consideration physiological parameters and the possibilities of the central nervous system.

G.L. Apanasenko, doctor of medical sciences, head of the department of medical control and medical physical culture, Kiev Medical Institute imeni Akademik A.A. Bogomolets:

Strange though it might seem to a physician, our hope that health can be maintained with the help of medicine or almost exclusively through medicine is a profound and by no means innocuous error. Sixty percent of our health depends on the most important factor of human health--our way of life. The next more important factor is the environment and its condition (20 percent). Medicine accounts for 8 percent only. What does this mean? It means that it must be made clear to any manager that a sports stadium, a club, working conditions, the cafeteria, the locker room and housing are not "residual" but primary projects. Party and soviet workers are present at this meeting. My question to you, comrades, is the following: Do you remember that responsibility for failure to complete sociocultural projects was primary and stricter compared to the installation of technological lines? That is precisely the way it should be.

Let us consider the question from the professional viewpoint. What is the purpose of our social security system? Paradoxical though this might seem, it encourages a sick rather than a healthy way of life! This can only be described as vulgar humanism. Let us think: financially it is more profitable for a person to be ill than to be healthy and to work; he gets more money for staying in hospital than going to work! The opposite satisfactory results which may be found are, unfortunately. When the familiar economic experiment was undertaken at the Sumy Scientific-Production Machine Building Association imeni M.V. Frunze, the morbidity rate began to decline immediately, dropping by one-half in 3 years.

Workers and engineers became materially and morally interested not in whiling away the hours but precisely in performing intensive and productive work, and therefore, in their health. My suggestion is that we formulate a system of socioeconomic health incentives at each enterprise.

In this case it would be no sin to borrow something from foreign experience. Let us consider the following facts: between 1970 and 1982 the death rate from heart attacks in the United States declined by 27 percent and from stroke by 33 percent. How to explain this?

Twenty years ago the United States was among the leading countries in the world in the number of deaths caused by cardiovascular diseases. Scientific studies proved that features in the way of life, such as nutrition, harmful habits and low motor activity, were among the "determinants" of heart and vascular diseases. Armed with such data, the insurance companies immediately introduced amendments in their financial policy and insurance premiums withheld from wages for health insurance and retirement benefits were made dependent on the level of the risk factors in the development of a disease. This economic lever, which has hardly anything to do with humanism, nonetheless stimulated the interest of the population in maintaining their health. As a result, 30 million Americans stopped smoking, most of them changed their nutrition by reducing the consumption of animal fats and 113

million undertook systematically to practice calisthenics. The capitalist market quickly reacted to the demand which created an impetus for the development of a powerful physical culture and health industry. Today a "physical culture fever" has literally blanketed the United States and become fashionable. Physical perfection has become a nationwide persistent idea and the cult of youth and health, an inseparable feature of daily American life. As a result, the health of the nation has improved substantially and, let us say frankly that in this matter there is no strategic parity between us and the United States.

The exceptional urgency of setting and using incentives for a healthy way of life of the population, such as developing a socially useful attitude toward its health, becomes obvious. This must be based not on prohibitions (although we cannot entirely abandon the system of prohibitions, as confirmed by the practice of the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, which has already had a positive impact on the population's state of health), but a purposeful economic and social policy directed at specific population groups.

V.I. Tarasenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, department of the study of social structures, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

The main shortcoming in the study of problems of drunkenness and alcoholism is, in our view, the narrow theoretical view of the problem, due to two circumstances.

First, the fact that the problem of drunkenness and alcoholism was developed primarily by narrowly specialized people did not provide a general picture of the phenomenon. The need for a broader and more general approach was felt with increased urgency. This specifically applied to the sociological approach which, in dealing with the social aspect of the problem of drunkenness and alcoholism, could find in it that which reflected the most essential features of the phenomenon.

Second, reducing the problem of drunkenness and, consequently, of the struggle against it only to eliminating recurrences of the past in the minds and behavior of the people, led researchers away from research and from providing an explanation for the reasons of this phenomenon, which could be reached by looking at the real problems and difficulties of our development, contradictions in social and private life and errors and shortcomings in administration, economic management and upbringing. It is obvious that on the basis of such a concept it was impossible theoretically to explain why in a socialist society in which, unlike under capitalism, there are no classes interested in mass alcoholic consumption, nonetheless such a general use of alcohol developed, turning into an element of social life, a factor of deformation of social relations. This concept prevented us from seeing the particular social content of drunkenness and alcoholism, the nucleus of which has been and is found in specific social relations, standards and values.

The practical application of theoretical developments of this problem was also limited. It directed the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism essentially toward increased propaganda efforts and verbal-educational methods

of upbringing. The importance of education through practical action was belittled.

[Editorial note] Obviously, belittling the role of objective conditions governing human life and activities and the establishment of the individual as a socially active person are essential shortcomings not only in the struggle against a sober way of life. The entire theory and practice of communist upbringing should be substantially restructured and turned toward the real "mechanism" which ensures the all-round harmonious development of man. The discussion which developed on such problems indicated that there were more questions than answers in this area.

V.I. Volovich, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the department of Marxist philosophy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Higher Party School:

We must note that the restructuring of ideological work is still purely quantitative. We must eliminate the concept of enlightenment in ideological activities, a concept which is still applied in the methodology of its organization and implementation.

Today ideology should be understood, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "as an area of thoughts, actions and upbringing." This formula leads us to take a new look at its content, nature and functions. In this connection, it would be no exaggeration to say that the time has come for a new theoretical understanding of the nature of restructuring ideological work.

Any attempt at shaping the personality by influencing the mind alone would be futile. This influence is only one of many factors in the establishment of the personality. The self-development of the personality takes place in the course of activities, contacts, practical experience and the solution of all problems of social development. Naturally, this process is accelerated and assumes a purposeful nature and a specific social content in the course of active ideological and educational influences on the individual, for which reason it is also described as "shaping" him. The restructuring of the social consciousness could be successfully achieved above all by solving the practical problems of changing social relations, for "the true spiritual wealth of the individual entirely depends on the wealth of his actual relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 36). It is only after awareness "becomes part of practice," and functions as part of the system of social relations, that we could consider as implemented the familiar Leninist concept that the socialist state is strong with the awareness of the masses.

N.V. Popov, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the department of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Kiev Medical Institute imeni Akademik A.A. Bogomolets:

In order to restructure the public and individual consciousness and make the practical activities of all people consistent with the new tasks in social development, we must provide man with new conditions for social activity.

Every citizen in our country must show the way in which he converts his communist convictions into real actions today and every day.

Drawing attention to the increased role of external regulators of individual activities we, philosophers and educators, must not underestimate the role of internal regulators and concepts. As a rule, however, textbooks on pedagogy put last the topic of "molding a communist outlook," preceding it by mental, ideological-political, moral, labor, esthetic, physical and other types of upbringing. This is a common shortcoming of our entire school and VUZ education.

We must specifically determine the correlation between a scientific outlook and all forms of social life and social consciousness and, consequently, the social upbringing of the individual. We must formulate practical ways for shaping a scientific outlook in all members of our society and means of conceptual struggle against all negative phenomena about which today we speak openly and in a principle-minded fashion. The shaping of a scientific outlook is neither the privilege nor the lot of philosophers alone. It requires the increased attention of all state and public institutions. This necessarily calls for singling out the type of new and special type of activity of social institutions in our society--conceptual activities.

N.I. Mikhhalchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, head of group on problems of communist upbringing, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

In the educational area, all of us were literally entranced by "faith" in the omnipotence of the socialist base. Naturally, production relations, economic above all, are the fundamental base of upbringing. However, this base remains relatively unchanged for long periods of time, whereas changes in education are constant and its development is to a great extent autonomous. Resting on the same base and using the same materials may result in the development of different superstructural relations. That is why, without denying the role of the base which, in the final account is determining, we must study more profoundly the activities of the subjects of the educational process, which play an exceptionally important role in molding the individual. The first practical step in this area is the formulation of a comprehensive program for scientific research on topical problems of communist education by the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. Structurally, it consists of four sections (basic research, scientific reports and notes, popular publications and practical science conferences); 12 departments and organizations participate in its implementation. Discussion which, we believe, will help us to shift from the trodden paths to the tracks of creativity and innovation, are scheduled to play an essential role in the program's future.

A.T. Gordiyenko, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the department of the history of philosophy, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

We lose a great deal as a result of uncoordinated action, criteria and concepts. Consequently it is only superficially that the educational process appears as a system which can meet its immediate target through ways and means which are frequently quite unrelated. This gap between family and school and

between them and labor collectives is duplicated and strengthened by the lack of coordination in scientific research. In our country we are compartmentalizing everything to such an extent that even education itself is perceived not as an entity but a set of fragments. From the practical viewpoint, however, who needs studies in the area of esthetic upbringing if they are not based on the concept of man as a personality, as a specific unit? It is very important today to develop precisely a unified, a comprehensive, an all-embracing approach to the study of the problems of man, which would enable us to develop a specific model of the type of man, the type of person we would like to have and to establish what this requires. However broadly we may look at the person, we must not forget that he contains something essential, something human: his attitude toward others, honesty, conscientiousness, and decency. What we saw in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident proves the exceptional relevance of awakening and supporting what is human in man.

V.G. Tabachkovskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the department of dialectical materialism, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

It is no secret that many of the difficulties which have existed here in recent years are related to the disparity between words and actions, which somehow gathered within itself the educational results of incomplete projects and omissions in all areas of our activities. Hence the disparity between the guidelines for the individual, which could be defined as fabricated, and the real guidelines of which the individual himself is not always aware.

Such disparity in value orientations of the individual, it turned out, is not a phenomenon we imported. It arises wherever there is formalism, red tape, and lack of an individual approach to education.

A concentration on maximally specific education, both in terms of the content of educational work and of its subject means, above all, a concentration on molding (and, if necessary, remolding) the internal perceptions of the individual. A special variety of them are the conceptual ideas which form the spiritual nucleus of the individual. On the one hand, they may consist of knowledge about how a person in whom such concepts have become convictions should act. On the other, they could develop as a result of indirect educational influences, the main among which is the influence of the real way of life in which ordinary concepts are shaped, consistent or inconsistent with the content of our special educational efforts. Whenever the latter takes place, a struggle between conflicting motivations develops within the subject.

The situation becomes particularly complex when this occurs in a young, in an as yet unformed individual. Particularly futile are the efforts to influence such a struggle between motivations and direct instructions and edifications. The latter are backed by the authority of our experience but what happens to the experience of the students themselves? It is either virtually absent or minimal. However, the need to reason things out is already there. This need is so strong that, in his time, F.M. Dostoyevskiy described it as the "thirst," of the adolescent.

It is at this point that what we consider as the main educational problem arises in its full magnitude, a problem which could be expressed with the categorical imperative of "do not let go!" This is the time when the first and earliest shoots of self-awareness, self-reflection, appear. They must not be ignored. They must not be "suppressed" by a condescending indisputable authority of ready-made decisions but help the student to reach the necessary decisions not only with his mind but his entire soul, to experience his acquisitions.

Are we always there, when such help is needed? Unquestionably, the search for a meaning by today's adolescents is specific. This feature, however, is not their invention. It is dictated by the conditions and circumstances which took years to develop and which are being reviewed only now. In our view, the determining feature on the sum total of these conditions is the guardianship-style interpretation of the slogan "for the children, only the best." Today, when young people enter their independent labor careers significantly later compared to the past, this frequently turns into a "protracted childhood."

L.N. Nikolayev, editor of the programs "Obvious But Incredible" and "The Institute of Man," Central Television:

My feeling is that we are now standing in front of an open gate undecided whether to enter or not or to say the words which must be said if we are truly concerned with the fate of young people. As the movie "Is It Easy To Be Young?" frankly points out, you, adults, keep grumbling everywhere, at home, at school, at work, in books and motion pictures, and we do not trust you. This view may be a manifestation of youthful extremism but is it not consistent with reality? In my view, the mass information media have already initiated the necessary although painful turn toward facing the real problems of the growing generation. Inasmuch as I can see, in the social sciences such a necessary rejection of dogmas which took years to accumulate, is not noticeable. This creates the danger that we shall develop a program for the education of future generations on the basis of old concepts, unwilling to understand the young. I believe that it is very important today to make a broad philosophical assessment of the situation, which would take into consideration humanitarian and moral criteria. This must be presented not as a topic for academic debates but in a form accessible to millions of boys and girls who are pondering about how to organize their lives. Otherwise a vicious circle develops: we keep cheering each other up whereas our support should go to others, the young people above all.

L.V. Khmelevskaya-Stelmakh, teacher at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute imeni A.M. Gorkiy:

We totally ignore the fact that they, the young, need personal contacts with us, our friendship; to them we are most frequently "people in a container." Naturally, not every one of us can combine his vocation with the need to earn a living but this fact is not seriously taken into consideration. Actually, who is truly interested to find out whether or not the teacher has been able to instill in a student in his own spiritual passion? Do we study the ways through which the personality of the teacher influences the development of that of the student? The main criterion for social activity in our country is

"mass" and "non-mass." That is where we have become stuck. It is splendid when a youth collective is united. However, is this achieved as a result of strictly determined days and hours of instruction (making control easier), which duplicate (by no means perfectly) lessons in social subjects? Work with the masses and within the masses, particularly among the youth, should consist mainly of individual approaches instead of an assembly line of standardized sets of measures, something like a "mass swimming party."

V.A. Zots, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Higher Party School:

The individual approach is of exceptional importance in atheistic work which becomes meaningless if not concentrated on real people. Atheistic education does not bear fighting believers but fighting for people, for their future, for surmounting the influence of religious faith on the person's consciousness and actions, for creating and applying conditions which contribute to shaping a scientific materialistic outlook and atheistic convictions.

The party directs us toward involving believers in active social life. In practice, however, in frequent cases we are not in a hurry to do this, we are afraid of something. Not so long ago, a woman won first place at the republic competition among young seamstresses: she had been doing her work brilliantly and had overfulfilled her plan 400 percent. This was a real record, the woman was simply talented. She was presented a portrait and given a diploma. Suddenly, it becomes known that she is a believer! What to do? As the saying goes, a "situation" appeared. Luckily, the local organizers did not allow passions to flare up.

Her photograph appeared in the newspaper. She was awarded first place in the competition. You can imagine what a blow that was for the preachers and the baptist community which claimed that our attitude toward them is "you people are second class," that "this society does not need you," etc. On our side, this was a serious act, although initially some "zealous" comrades opposed the step. In this case this was an acknowledgment of a deserving believer in a society and the implementation of our principles of justice, as proclaimed by the Communist Party.

You must understand also that contemporary believers are unlike believers of ancient times. For that reason, we must call for upgrading the standards of atheistic work. Recently a dissertation was defended at the Institute of Philosophy, which dealt with the attitude toward religion and atheism. Academician V.I. Shinkaruk asked the author of the dissertation: "What is preferable: an atheist who does not believe in anything or a believer who works conscientiously?" The author of the dissertation stopped short, clearly thinking that it was blasphemous to say that a conscientiously working believer meant to us more than an atheist who believed in nothing at all.

V.I. Shinkaruk: Unfortunately, it has become customary for us to believe that if someone is an atheist he is almost a Marxist and that the atheist somehow automatically is the bearer of high morality.

[Editorial note] The question raised by V.I. Shinkaruk goes way beyond the boundaries of atheistic education. The values of religion are fictitious but they can be surmounted sufficiently only if they do not leave emptiness behind them but organically develop into the shaping of real values. A moral-esthetic consciousness should be based on objectively real values, on a sensible and considerate attitude toward them. Such values include above all the environment. Problems of ecological culture and upbringing are assuming a vital importance today.

N.F. Tarasenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, leading scientific associate, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

The conversion of nature into a prerequisite for human life also means changes in the nature of man himself, a process of developing and shaping within him certain cultural-historical qualities.

It is from this viewpoint that we must approach the entire set of problems related to ecological upbringing.

The initial premise for education (including ecological) is to develop in the person the need for work, for communicating, for collective life and, on this basis, for a theoretical interpretation and summation of the world (knowledge). However, knowledge alone is insufficient, however comprehensive it may be. We must go deeper, i.e., we must go into the specifics of social practices. In the course of training the child accepts nature not simply through the lens of knowledge imparted by studying various school subjects. To the child the existence of nature precedes the social form of his activities. In other words, nature exists for the child initially as an object of contact with adults and with his peers and only then does it become a means of existence and an object of knowledge, study, etc.

It is precisely the development of social contacts that becomes the initial culture-shaping factor in developing man's ecological knowledge. The need for nature is awakened in man through his need for another person. To the extent to which the need for human communication has been developed in the child the need develops for being in contact with nature surrounding him. The mastery by the child of human communication and the ability and readiness to engage in it means developing the human principles in the child. Without this not only ecological but any culture would be impossible. That is why labor, a collective life and communication are not simply components of ecological standards and ecological upbringing but also form a specific cultural ecology thanks to which man, while retaining his natural characteristics, asserts himself as a social being.

V.S. Bryukhovetskiy, candidate of pedagogical sciences, senior scientific associate, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature imeni T.G. Shevchenko:

Today we speak a great deal and painfully about Chernobyl. Yet much earlier, there was the Kakhovka GES, whose generated power is used almost entirely to pump the water out of flooded shafts. Let us not even mention the loss of

thousands of hectares of fruitful land. A. Dovzhenko was the first to praise the labor exploit at Kakhovka, not exclusively in happy but also in dramatic colors (how unfairly he was blamed for this can be seen particularly clearly today). What was the drama of human actions according to Dovzhenko? The fact that, strengthened by technical power, man becomes alien to nature which nurtured him, he becomes its destroyer. If he lacks compassion for the old pear tree under which more than one generation sat, if he does not respect the past, he becomes a vandal. All the feelings within him become centered exclusively on his own being.

Today there is unanimous belief that the ecological crisis can be surmounted only if man would behave toward nature not simply as an external object but as a subject. We have reached this understanding at the cost of errors and sometimes tragedies, but we have reached it.

Here as well it is very important to draw lessons from such errors, to be applied in another area of social ecology. It is a question of the attitude of man toward the noosphere. If we look closely at the inner world of characters in contemporary Ukrainian writings, we would note that urban life has contributed little to them spiritually. On the surface, it has. On the inside, it is as though they have rejected the noosphere. Could this be the result of our hopelessness in shaping the spiritual aspect of a city, even a city such as Kiev?

For a variety of reasons (economic, psychological, cultural) the person who comes to Kiev does not become part of the cultural environment of the city but essentially tries to adapt to it, so as not to be singled out, to accept the specific mass culture of the city (which is another form of adaptation), sometimes sincerely believing it to be the real one. For that reason a square which has replaced the little house of Mariya Zankovetskaya could be considered more useful than a museum dedicated to that outstanding actress. Yesterday's peasant quickly notes that in the city cultural values are being destroyed as easily as nature is destroyed occasionally in the countryside, for which reason he no longer considers them as being cultural values.

Everything in this world is interrelated! Several days ago I stood benumbed in front of the Troitskaya church of the Motronin monastery (yes, precisely the one described by Shevchenko), at the Kholodnyy Yar site, not far from Cherkassy. I stood by a broken down building covered with graffiti. To my deepest shame, most of these "topographic additions," and barbarisms are being committed in my native city of Cherkassy. This is by no means accidental, for it is precisely in Cherkassy that a significant number of architectural monuments of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries were wrecked. Why such a disrespectful attitude toward our culture? For example, the journal PAMYATNIKI UKRAINI would publish an article in defense of the original building of the old museum yet, a couple of months later, without bothering to answer the editors, the building would be brought down. Meanwhile, the city's chief architect simply said in an interview that his job is merely to plan the layout of city streets, and nothing else. Is it astounding, in such a case, that hundreds of young people from Cherkassy visit Kholodnyy Yar, where dozens of archaeological, architectural, historical and natural monuments are concentrated, and leave on the church of the Motronin

monastery their semiliterate "autographs?" Those young people have seen with their own eyes how thoughtlessly, in accordance with someone's ambitions (let us recall Dovzhenko's Golik) the face of an entire city was distorted. Naturally, it is simpler to wreck an old house, unique in its so-called "brick architecture" than to make it "fit" a contemporary architectural ensemble.

The young person still remembers with nostalgia the paths of his childhood, as he inhales the chemical taste of the urban air. However, he has not as yet mastered the cultural noosphere of the town which would allow him to gain a sense of history and of himself as part of this history, without which one cannot be a true urban resident. It is precisely in this connection that today, albeit somewhat surreptitiously, literature is already raising the question of an ecology of the noosphere, which is quite legitimately synonymous with the ecology of the spirit and the ecology of culture. Indeed, man does not live by bread alone....

G.M. Sivokon, doctor of philological sciences, leading scientific associate, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature imeni T.G. Shevchenko:

Naturally, not by bread alone. But let us look at truth in the eyes: What is the popularity of the spiritual food which is produced by the poets and writers in our republic?

Difficulties in "marketing" a work of fiction in Ukrainian are known. As we analyze them, however, we should not hide behind various "objective" reasons. We need above all truthful and topical books and not only historical novels. Accurately noted here were the problems of the rural migrant and urban culture. However, where are such problems found in our works?

Finally, we must engage in a serious and equal dialogue on vital problems with our writers. We must develop in them, the young in particular, moral principles. Under the conditions of our multinational country this is the common task of all literatures.

I.F. Drach, poet, laureate of the UkSSR State Prize imeni T.G. Shevchenko:

Poets and artists, whatever the language in which they create, are bees which gather honey for the common trough of our culture. The natural air of friendship enriches all of us. That is why there is such great need to intensify our unification. To this effect we must develop our culture and also more frequently present to our readers in their own language the achievements of other cultures, not only of the past but, above all, the present. It is thus that we shall contribute to the development of national culture and the spiritual enrichment of the readers.

M.F. Slaboshpitskiy, writer, literary critic:

Let me add that this will contribute to the increased reputation of Ukrainian literature. The main factor here, however, is its own ideological and moral potential and consistency with the realities and needs of life today. Alas, today we have nothing comparable to Astafyev's "The Sad Detective," Rasputin's "The Fire," Bykov's "Career" or Aytmatova's "Executioner's Block." Sometimes

critics are blamed for this. Yes, critics must work more daringly, honestly and actively. The sad rule, however, is that any literature has the type of criticism it deserves and wants to have. All too long we have blamed critics for honest and frank assessments and all too frequently we have replaced guidance of the literary process with administrative arbitrariness and the secret obligation to defend the national interest with the clash among petty ambitions. The result of such "taming of the critics" has been a decline in the readers' interest in fiction and a stagnation of literature itself.

L.S. Tanyuk, chief director, Kiev Youth Theater:

Naturally, under such conditions the critics had no time to do their main job, which is the patient nurturing of talented authors. This can be clearly seen in the theater. Theater criticism was replaced by bureaucratic administration and was frequently aimed against talented and gifted playwrights, actors and directors. Let me remind you that Kirill Lavrov, Mikhail Romanov, Oleg Borisov, Aleksandr Parra, Valeriy Ivchenko and many others were all actors who started in the Ukraine but were forced to leave it. Our cultural life suffered a great loss from such an "export of talent!" It is much poorer today in Kiev, Odessa and Kharkov than in the Baltic area, Georgia, Bellorussia and Russia. For a long time we have not staged not only Brecht, Shakespeare, Molliere, Tolstoy or Dostoyevskiy but even the plays of Zorin, Rozov or Vampilov. All of this has meant depriving the people of the valuable drops from the "source for the thirsty," from the eternal source of culture.

The time has come now for decisive changes in the republic's cultural life. We, at the Youth Theater, set this as our task: to see to it that each presentation is an event not only in Kiev's theater but also social life. We must address ourselves to the awareness of the young, whose hearts, as indicated by our current show "Dictatorship of the Conscience" indicates, are open to truthful and equal communication. Let us not forget that we are living in their time. This time must be loved and respected above all by them and only then will they assume full responsibility for it.

V.L. Ossovski, candidate of philosophical sciences, head of the department of mass information and public opinion sociology, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy:

"It is not entirely accurate to believe that we want the young people to become good and that they turn out differently. As sociologists, we studied the social portrait of our society as represented in literature or in the mass media. What were the results?

The model of the social world presented in these texts is characterized by all those parameters which we consider negative. The content of this model is technocratic and not social. It does not contain the problems encountered by young people in life. It does not contain social questions. The data we obtained proved that the real function of the mass information media is if not the precise opposite nonetheless by no means the one considered desirable from the viewpoint of educating and molding the new person, and developing in him the moral qualities which were so extensively discussed here.

The mass information media present a misshaped social structure of our society. It is said that young people do not want to become workers. Yes, they do not want and should not want, for they have perceived the profession of worker not with the help of reality but from writings. In the 64 movies which were shown in Kiev in April 1984 the worker as a character was extensively represented: 33 percent of the characters were workers. But how many features did the film directors need to depict this worker? There were six, no more than six. This completed the portrait of the worker. That is why he looks so dull and unseemly.

We obtained paradoxical information from the study of the materials published in UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA. Among the 58 qualities used to describe the image of the teacher, love for children was 28th in terms of the space assigned to it. The first 10 qualities were the usual clichés: a creative attitude toward the work, knowledge of the subject, and so on, i.e., something which is not part of the specific features of teachers only.

A.V. Myalovitskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY:

In my view, we should not speak at all of the enhancement of the human factor as unrelated to our practical work in the sensible utilization of the best features inherent in man. How is our social system oriented toward it, what are its specific links, such as family, school, VUZ, and so on? Let us consider the existing vocational guidance system. Its formal nature has long been noted and thoroughly condemned, but verbally, not by creating a different system. In the 1930s and 1940s and even after the war, public opinion worked well (let us recall the enthusiasm of young people for flying). Obviously, today we need other steps. However, we should not abandon the molding of a public opinion aimed at satisfying the prime needs of the country. Oral and printed propaganda have become somewhat carried away by the creation of a favorable atmosphere surrounding outstanding sports figures and actors. However, it is entirely clear that these are one-of-a-kind people and we must awaken the creative principles in every single person. Is this the yardstick used by the respective organizations at associations of young technicians, naturalists, and so on? As a rule, they operate with the help of loyal supportive people whereas they should rely on the support of the entire society. Furthermore, how do we encourage excellent training? A gold medal is awarded to the best secondary school graduate but this medal has become entirely depreciated. And who, after A. Kopylenko, the author of the familiar story, has described the gold-medal bearer in the past 3 decades, the way we write about the same school student who has earned a medal in sports? Let me make one more remark. We frequently speak about what is best in a person but how to qualify personal characteristics? Where is the price list with which to determine it? Is it not the task of our philosophical science, literature and art to address itself to this topic but strictly on the basis of contemporary facts? Let us consider features such as dedication and decency. They have been unjustifiably suppressed in our mass information media and in our daily life. Yet are they not the specific pivot of the entire moral aspect of the individual? The events related to the Chernobyl accident clearly established that not everything in our country is as it should be.

How did the Soviet people act, in their absolute majority, during the war and how did many of them act when we had our trouble in April 1986? This was truthfully and sadly described by B. Oleynik in PRAVDA and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Under the conditions of the developing struggle for the renovation of all sides of our lives it is precisely selflessness and decency that become increasingly precious.

V.I. Shinkaruk: It is particularly important to remove existing stereotypes in our approach to and choice of means of action. Here is one of them: the consideration of criticism as something unpleasant and which should be practiced as little as possible. Yes, criticism turned into a philistine relishing of shortcomings should not exist in our country. However, as an objective study of the situation in the interest of improving it and as a form of detecting, bringing to light and solving real contradictions, criticism is needed in its entirety. In order to become an efficient means of restructuring and not merely a rejection of individual phenomena, we need a new approach to criticism and new forms and acceptance of it. Only then can it become not an isolated event but a permanent, a continuing method for the renovation of ourselves and of all life.

Second. The problem of man is very broad. The question of the priority of the general philosophical view on this problem was accurately formulated. Today the mass information media have actively joined in this work and we must help the journalists to develop and to master new concepts and their new content. We mentioned criticism. We quite frequently hear the words "responsibility" and "irresponsibility." We describe with them manifestations of slackness, lack of discipline and facts of basic slovenliness. However, there are other things as well. Responsibility and irresponsibility are categories of a higher order. They are distinguished by the fact that, as a rule, they are related to initiative-minded efforts and the making of independent decisions. In other words, man must be put in circumstances in which he himself must make decisions and show initiative (this precisely is the purpose of the various recent steps), at which point his responsibility or irresponsibility will be manifested.

And what about such a popular term as "educating the people, the working people." It turns out that in order for the masses to become the subject of history someone (obviously, you and I) should educate them. This is a view which is quite incorrect and even conflicting with the basics of Marxism. In conclusion, let me say that we must review our entire theoretical set of instruments and propaganda arsenal and make them consistent with the realities they reflect.

[Editorial note] The questions which were discussed at the roundtable meeting are not new. Nonetheless, the approaches to them, in frequent cases, were clearly different. Now the essence of the matter has shifted to practical work, where we must assert and defend like party members the humanistic nature of our doctrine, our system. We, workers on the ideological and scientific fronts, must help to clarify this problem which is primary social and of universal cultural importance.

Obviously, it would be improper to ignore the fact that something has already been achieved. We have already completed many things, including in the area of the philosophical studies of man. A number of interesting publications by Ukrainian scientists could be listed, which even during a period when it was accepted to study "fashionable" and "garish" topics, seriously worked on conceptual problems, the way of life and the dialectics of development of the scientific and technical revolution and man. The time has now come for such topics and, on their basis, we must go further. And whereas we worked on such topics when this was not always welcomed, the more so we could and should become organized now, and define and undertake to work on them, based on the classical Marxist-Leninist humanistic ideas, the experience of real socialism, the general cultural traditions and the theoretical base which was created with the documents of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th Party Congress and the subsequent Central Committee Plenums.

It is entirely obvious that our main accomplishments, concerns, difficulties and successes are yet to come. The roundtable meeting indicated that we neither have nor could have reasons for relaxation and complacency. What predominated at the meeting was dissatisfaction, which proves that we are not tired and are ready to advance. Possibly, in the future, we shall decide on (or suggest) some organizational measures on the scale of the entire USSR Academy of Sciences, with a view to reorienting all of its units in favor of humanitarian problems. We cannot allow the importance of comprehensive studies, including the professional and moral aspect of man, to be brought to our attention only by negative and, sometimes, even tragic events. In other words, any realistic accomplishment today is a step toward greater success tomorrow.

In concluding the publication of the proceedings of the roundtable meeting, let us point out that the approaches taken in the study of the problem of man, used in the course of the debates, must be developed, intensified and refined further. This is demanded by the restructuring which has developed in our society and which means the removal of enduring stereotypes and a decisive shift of priorities in economic and social policy. The main priority today is that of man, his total well-being, free and comprehensive development and maximal discovery of his creative capabilities. That is why the task of reaching a new qualitative status in Soviet society presumes a "human dimension" and a critical assessment and reassessment of all areas of social life (ranging from production and social activities to recreation).

Here as well science must play an important role. It must attentively review and improve its conceptual apparatus and expand it with new categories in order to provide an essentially different, qualitative assessment of much of what we have become accustomed to assess only quantitatively and, therefore, in frequent cases only formally. That is why we must provide substantiated answers to the questions of the nature, in their socioeconomic aspect (and not only strictly technical), the new equipment and technology which must be mastered by socialist society, what influence they will have on man and the nature of his work, psychological development, health, habitat and the sum total of social relations. It is from the same viewpoint that we must assess the structure, functioning and tasks of all social institutions and organizations under the conditions of the democratization of social life and

the developing activity of the masses. It is only on the basis of a profound scientific interpretation of economic, political, social, cultural and moral-spiritual aspects of human development that we can achieve a radical restructuring in upbringing and education and their true reorientation toward the topical needs of social practices.

The development of new conceptual approaches will be obviously most fruitful through the extensive interaction among sciences and the development of comprehensive interdisciplinary studies of all phenomena in society and nature from the viewpoint of their impact on man. In this connection, more than in the past attention must be focused on global problems, problems of ecology and medical-biological research (in particular, the study of human genetics). In order successfully to solve such problems, science itself must be substantially improved and must broaden its methodological base. Humanistic and moral regulators of scientific knowledge must play an equal role as that of logic in the sciences. In order to implement these tasks, obviously, new organizational solutions will be needed, proceeding from the fact that man is the main thing.

KOMMUNIST will continue to pay great attention in the future as well to all of these problems.

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PROBLEMS OF LOCAL SIGNIFICANCE?

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 76-79

[Article by Olga Yuryevna Tveritina, member of the USSR Union of Journalists]

[Text]The working day is over. The streets are crowded with people going home. How will they fill up their leisure time? The answer to this question determines the way we work and what we are. Leisure time is the most important part of our life. I would like to be able to say a healthy, sensible, and cultural way of life. Unfortunately, this by no means applies to everyone.

Today we must find, develop and assert the type of ways of life, and recreation which would not separate but unite the people, which would eliminate from our lives coarseness, alienation, drunkenness, individualism and consumerism in all its aspects and, conversely, bring up in everyone goodness, comradeship, liking of beauty, creative talents and capabilities. The need to organize an entire system of collective interrelationships in our lives outside enterprises and offices becomes increasingly urgent. At work a person's actions are public. Outside, it is as though he is, if not separated from at least on the margin of social relations and stable forms of communication, with the exception of the family. During nonworking time we are no longer colleagues, we are no longer comrades in pursuit of a common cause but isolated customers, clients, passengers, viewers or visitors. In the modern microrayons, in the huge new residential houses, the old Russian word "neighbors" is understood most frequently as a geographic concept, not as a term indicating human interrelationships.

It has already become banal to note the "scarcity of communication" in discussing life in a big city. However, there is also a scarcity of opportunities for communicating, such as joint entertainment and hobbies. Sometimes we even lack the necessary premises for ordinary,, not especially great but purely "recreational" activities. We have no "courtyard" or "microrayon" pedagogy. There are few centers for comradely interaction, particularly for the young and the adolescents. How can this situation be truly changed? This needs planned and well-organized work and not simply a listing of shortcomings.

Such is the scale of the increasingly urgent social need, such is the profound social meaning of the work which is currently being done (but truly, not formally and not in words only) by very few establishments and by many, although still not enough, individuals, enthusiasts. This means work at the place of residence. Everything here is important: material facilities (above all premises and equipment) a variety of organizational forms based on voluntary participation and interests and, above all, people. It is about these organizers of the way of life and recreation of the population in the capital and of the conditions which would make their efforts fruitful that this article is about.

That evening Kapitolina Nikolayevna was late. She had stopped at the rayon executive committee. She was hurrying, thinking of getting out of the bitter January cold into the warm home, drink some tea and, finally, rest, for it had been a hard day. Plunged in her thoughts, she initially paid no attention to a lone figure in the middle of the street. Slowly, however, she identified it. "But this is Mitya, the boy who lives in the apartment next door. Why is he standing there? He is swaying. Is he drunk or what?"

"Mitya!" she shouted. He did not answer. She approached him, she pulled his sleeve, she pushed him. She saw a mindless face, with semi-closed eyes. She felt no smell. "Drugs!" she guessed suddenly.

She will never forget the way she dragged him home, climbed the stairs, rang her neighbor's bell, the way the older son came out of the apartment and, realizing everything immediately, rushing to call an ambulance. She remembers the slowly collapsing woman against the wall, Mitya's mother.

Mitya spent a week in the reanimation ward. Fortunately, he recovered. The opposite could have happened as well. He swore that this was his first and last time and said that acquaintances (who?) had told him about this "kayf," just a few pills....

Many things have happened to Kapitolina Nikolayevna Sokolova in the 9 years of work as party organization secretary of DEZ No 4, Babushkinskiy Rayon, in Moscow: troubles and pleasures, successes and disappointments. Sometimes it seemed to her that she had no more strength left, she had had enough. How much of a load could one carry? Let others, younger people, take over. Sometimes it was the opposite: something would happen and she would feel needed.

But perhaps it was precisely during that difficult evening that she clearly realized how much more remains to be done: one must fight for people like Mitya, for other children. One must fight for anyone who has taken a wrong step, who needs the help of others.

Work at the place of residence. These dry words conceal an endless sea of problems and human destinies, heaps of problems: you start dealing with one and then comes a second, a third, an endless series. How to restructure organizational work among adolescents and young people in the microrayons? How to involve the adults--the parents--and to surmount inertness and dependency, a consumerist attitude toward the place where we live--our street,

house or microrayon? At work, in the labor collectives, upbringing is facilitated by pursuit of common objectives and tasks, common tasks and, finally, common interests which are tangibly and gradually being strengthened by cost accounting. Nothing like it exists where one lives, for which reason the search goes on steadily, without stopping.

It will be almost a year since the decision was made to reorganize the work of the party members in this area in Babushkinskiy Rayon: to create territorial primary party organizations of nonworking party members and a separate party organization of PZhRO (Rayon Production Housing Repair Association), with the participation of party members working in the rayon's DEZ.

At first it looked like a questionable decision. Let us recall that the overwhelming majority of nonworking party members are veterans, the retired, the old or people whose health, as a rule, is not all that good. At the age of 70 they frequently are simply unable to run after adolescents! However, it is precisely the old party members, as indicated by numerous cases in Moscow, who, ignoring their age and ills, showing as much energy as the young, assume many bothersome but necessary obligations, such as organizing circles for technical creativity, modeling, and radio work, which could interest the youngsters, including "problem" children with whom sometimes not even the inspectorate on minors' affairs can deal, acting together with the administrations of the DEZ, the PZhRO, or the sponsorship organizations.

Why was this experiment needed in Babushkinskiy Rayon? Would this not weaken active work elsewhere? Kapitolina Nikolayevna Sokolova believes that the method they used was better:

"Frankly speaking, sometimes at party meetings the agenda would be forgotten immediately after the report, and they would start (a good thing that the chief of the DEZ and the chief engineer would be present): 'The foreman did not come to see me,' or 'they are not doing repairs at my place.'.... When the decision was made to reorganize the structure of the party organizations, many people said something like, why are party meetings necessary now, who shall we abuse? Imagine how strong dependency had become: everyone owed us something while we owed nothing to no one, we did not need any restructuring. I tell them: what kind of party members are we, for the sake of appearances. No, the party has said that everyone must begin the restructuring with himself. This means that we too must do it."

They started with small things, with the basics. They set up party groups at homes, knocked at doors, became acquainted with the residents, determined who could work with adolescents and young people, and who could head circles and sections. Let us point out that most of the housing in the microrayon belongs to administrations and, as Kapitolina Nikolayevna sadly joked, until recently "no public figure had ever come near us."

Not everywhere were they welcomed with open arms. In some cases, people did not even invite them in. Sokolova spoke to me about it with pain and bitterness: how to reach such people, what was the key to them?

But the opposite happened as well. A couple--man and wife--lived in one of the apartments visited by members of the party group. Both were blind. They had neither family nor relatives. The DEZ party organization became their sponsor: through the rayon executive committee they were assigned to a store and now they are frequently visited. This way the people cannot feel that they are alone, abandoned. This, you will agree, means a great deal....

I quite frequently had the occasion to meet, to discuss and, sometimes, to argue with educators in charge of organizing Moscow DEZ, secretaries of party organizations in microrayons and public figures. Despite differences in opinions, the common idea was that a radical reorganization is needed. What seemed only yesterday a standard, almost an achievement, is no longer sufficient today: let us create one more circle, let us make one more ice skating ring and the problem of the leisure time will be solved. The time of the extensive approach to work at home is past.

Yes, these are different times but misconceptions remain. One can still frequently hear that dozens of concerts were organized and entertainment "stars" were invited and the problem of recreation was solved. What it is is that they simply chose the easier way, using the simple consumer-entertainment aspect. Unquestionably, it is splendid for entertainment to be accessible and varied: by this, naturally, I mean sensible, interesting and spiritually rich entertainment, for the word entertainment should not have a pejorative meaning. But here is a paradox: it seemed as though with every passing year the number of "cultural and educational centers" is increasing, if we were to trust statistical figures, while the problem of educating the individual remains just as urgent.

Yegor P. was put on probation for stealing musical instruments. Today Yegor is "managing"....a music circle. He was appointed to this "position" by an educator-organizer.

We have known for a long time Lidiya Vasilyevna Burkina and her "comrades in arms:" the chairman of the central house committee of DEZ No 14, public figures, adolescents, and residents of the microrayon. It so happened that she had to give up working in her field. She joined the party organization of the DEZ and, after realizing the existence of problems about which she neither knew nor suspected, she could no longer remain uninvolved, plunging head first in work in her microrayon, in the old Arbat.

In the imagination of many Muscovites, and not only of residents of the capital, the old Arbat invokes quiet and cozy poetic images: a preserved zone, the unique charm of old Moscow houses and alleys, a certain romantic halo created by the songs of Okudzhava and the popular Arbuzov play, inhabited by strange, lovable and good people, who make their own legends.... Sometimes, however, real life is quite unlike poetic images! A struggle is being waged today in the Arbat. It is a struggle between socially-minded party members, such as Burkina, assisted by voluntary nonparty members, for the right, however paradoxical or arrogant this may seem, to be the masters of their grounds, of their Arbat. They are struggling for the passing of a draft Regulation on the "Nash Arbat" social center, an occasion which marked the beginning of our acquaintanceship.

The people in the microrayon had decided to reorganize their work at home: to create a single social center and combine the efforts of educators-organizers of five DEZ adjacent to the old Arbat and, therefore, to combine the material and technical facilities, premises and funds and, on this basis, to set up a single cost accounting organization operating on the principles of self-government. This project is headed by the council of the social center, which is an elected authority including public figures, members of the territorial group of deputies, party organizations of the DEZ, heads of circles and sections, public groups (the comrade court, veterans' council, etc.). The council rallies and organizes of the population, directing it to solving problems of local importance--social, residential, educational, and so on (let me point out, incidentally, that the idea for this project was given a great impetus by a small article published in KOMMUNIST No 12, 1986, written by a jurist, entitled "Let Us Develop Self-Government At the Place of Residence").

How did the authors of the project conceive of the organization of small repair projects?

Imagine that you have a leaky faucet or you need a door to your basement, or anything else at home. You dial a number: "social center, workshop? Please send workers." The workers come, the oldest of whom is 16 years of age. There is no waiting, for they live in your own house. In a few minutes everything is done and there is no need to tip. Naturally, the work must be paid for, but the money will go to the fund of the social center and will be used, let us say, to buy brushes and paints for the painter's studio. The young carpenters, house painters or repair workers are guided by experienced adults.

Is it not tempting to be a full member of a social center, with a membership card and a badge which allows the bearer to enter a sports hall or coffee shop in the microrayon whenever he wants, and where he can have a cup of coffee and chat with friends, who do not necessarily have to be members of "Nashiy Arbat?" They could be from Nashiye Sokolniki, "Nashiye Cheremushki," and so on. What prevents him from meeting with and be friends, organize concerts, discotheques, and so on? Naturally, this means sharing experience and interesting events.

Perhaps we have been carried away by our imagination for, so far, this is only a plan, although it is gaining increasing support in Moscow.

Yes, gaining. Not immediately, but step-by-step, the activists in the microrayon gained the support and understanding of various "authorities," such as the main cultural administration of the Moscow City Executive Committee, the RSFSR Ministry of Culture, and the republic's Minzhilkomkhoz. Naturally, this was a necessary and interesting project but...it was risky. Would it work? Generally speaking, could one trust such enthusiasts and their imagination?

In the old Arbat, however, they live in the present and with reality, not with dreams.

I visited a house on Plotnikov Lane, at the heart of the discussions on what should the premises be, as they are the heart of the social center. The youngsters themselves arranged the basement premises of house No 51, on Arbat Street, and their sponsors helped. Both adolescents and adults discussed as equals and solved most seriously and with interest problems such as what kind of sections will be set up, where to find the equipment, what kind of schedule would be set up for the two premises, one for track, aerobics, ballet and dance and the other, for wrestlers, weight-lifters, and so on.

This was followed by the inauguration of the sports hall, of their own sports complex. That evening the atmosphere was imbued with some kind of indescribable feeling of general triumph. Accompanied by the enthusiastic shouting of the youngsters, wrestlers from the MEI sambo section demonstrated their skills, and Arbat girls from the aerobics studio performed. This was followed by the thunder of the discotheque and dancing without, however, violating certain rules, for those on duty strictly saw to it that the noise was not excessive, that the no smoking regulation was observed, and so on.

It was the same type of joy and joint entertainment and informal contacts, and a well-organized common project that was planned by enthusiasts for the entire old Arbat. Although they had almost reached an understanding, the problem remained unsolved. Comrades from Kievskiy Rayon are still questioning: How to combine five DEZ? Furthermore, self-government is something quite new. Let someone else start it.... It is time for all of us to understand that restructuring work among the population is no less important, but is even more so, than rebuilding a pedestrian street in Arbat.

We already pointed out that recreation is, naturally, not merely a holiday. It also offers the opportunity to do something useful and, even better, to learn something, to test one's forces in creative work, hand-made objects, and so on. What matters is for the opportunity to exist....

A good services center has been in operation for a few years at the DEZ No 9 in Sevastopolskiy Rayon. It is a kind of general workshop which also leases tools and where experienced workers, such as fitters, gardeners, sanitation technicians, carpenters, and so on, give advice. The center consists of two small rooms in the DEZ premises, tables, joiner's benches, a paint-mixing stand, a drill, a welding instrument.... These facilities are controlled by the center's council, which includes the chief of the DEZ, the house committee chairman and party organization secretary, and DEZ personnel such as a technical overseer, chief engineer, fitters, and so on. The center has daily reception hours for the population. Anyone who would like to make minor repairs in his apartment or make a simple piece of furniture or any kind of odd job may turn to the center for help. All of this was organized by DEZ Chief Vasiliy Vasilyevich Bureyev, Party Organization Secretary Petr Sergeyevich Krechetov and Central House Committee Chairman Konstantin Mikhaylovich Barashkov. All three are enamored of this new project and are prepared to speak a great deal and at length about the center. They are not boasting of their uniqueness. What they are showing is an almost professional involvement, attention and goodness, qualities which our service industry could use...

Figures prove the popularity of the center among the population of the microrayon: more than 1,000 people have visited it since it opened, and this is only those who borrowed tools. Many more people have come simply because they were interested. This offers a solution to yet another difficult human problem which we frequently discuss, that of loneliness. Here good human contacts are established, something which we are occasionally short of....

All such things--useful projects, raising adolescents, and human contacts--demand not only initiative but organization and are possible only when both are present. Since we mentioned Sevastopolskiy Rayon in Moscow, we must also mention another organizational find. By decision of the party raykom bureau six "zones of influence" were created, consisting of three-four DEZ each. The public zonal councils are headed by deputy chairmen of the rayon soviet executive committee and other managers of similar rank. They include representatives of rayon executive committee departments and administrations, sponsorship organizations, territorial deputy groups, and personnel of the Komsomol raykom. Each DEZ has a rayon party instructor. The main task of the zones is to convert from sectorial to a territorial-sectorial structure in the activities of rayon organizations. Here as well we see a similarity with the efforts of enthusiasts of the old Arbat, aimed at consolidation: not one but several DEZ, combining the efforts of sponsorship organizations, executive committee services, and so on. The same type of approach of organizing the work on the basis of consolidated zones, is being adopted in Gagarinskiy Rayon. This seems like a natural development....

A search is under way in many rayons in the capital and every bit of experience acquired by the party and public organizations at places of residence is valuable. We should note and sum up this experience, which sometimes is sought in distant lands and proudly "studied and applied." We must support not only enthusiasts but educators-organizers, deputy groups and public associations, for they are short both of rights and funds.

Essentially, this is a question of creating and developing a system of socialist self-government and eliminating formalism and excessive organization. Many problems become easier to solve wherever scope is given to efforts by the people and their self-organizations. This makes also problems of education easier, for the educational process is given a firm foundation in human relations and turns into collective self-education.

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THE SOVIET STATE AND PEOPLE'S SELF-GOVERNMENT

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[Article by Boris Nikolayevich Topornin, section chief, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, doctor of juridical sciences, professor]

[Text] The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum clearly defined the overall concept of development of our political system as well as the specific tasks related to its improvement. The party's aspiration not to suppress shortcomings in the development of Soviet society or rely on the fact that "history will forgive all," but, conversely, to determine in detail what took place in the country by the turn of the 1980s, confirms an awareness of its own strength and its resolve to eliminate entirely the reasons for and consequences of negative phenomena.

Relying on the support of the people, the CPSU is taking decisive steps to eliminate shortcomings and stagnation in the development of our political system. Law and order are strengthening in the country. An uncompromising struggle is developing against those who steal socialist property, bribe-takers, careerists and anyone who violates party ethical standards and socialist morality. A qualitatively new social atmosphere is developing, characterized by the fact that the party directly turns to the people on the most crucial problems of the country's life and firmly supports the initiative and critical remarks of the citizens. All of these are specific features in the development of self-government and strengthening the democratic nature of the Soviet state.

The question of the nature and future of this process is exceptionally important on the theoretical and practical levels. Practical experience acquired in the development of self-government and the results of sociological studies conducted in recent years by several scientific institutions, including the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, and the conclusions and summations found in scientific publications and periodicals on this topic enable us today, in our consideration of this matter, to shift from general ideas to the theoretical study of specific problems.

It is no secret that quite recently one could come across not only a skeptical but also an openly negative attitude to the very idea of self-government. On the one hand, this was the result of a superficial familiarity with the foundations of scientific socialism; on the other, of the social practice of the period during which, for both objective and subjective reasons, the development of self-government was restricted. Another circumstance which played a role was the fact that frequently the slogans of self-government, which distorted its nature and purpose, were used by the opponents of socialism in their struggle against the foundations of the new society. Under those circumstances, restoring to self-government its true purpose in society was extremely important.

Let us emphasize that the CPSU relies on the basic Marxist-Leninist postulates of people's self-government and protects the continuity of the idea. The party takes into consideration the actual experience gained by the USSR and the other socialist countries. The concept of socialist people's self-government is presented in the new edition of the CPSU program and other party documents and materials. Its purpose is to develop and perfect political structures and procedures which were created during previous historical stages and were tested by time. Furthermore, this concept is a new word in the science of socialism and communism.

What is it that allows us to consider this a novelty? First, it is the approach to socialist self-government by the people as a stage which precedes communist social self-government. The party's documents systematically promote the idea that self-government has been inherent in socialism throughout its entire history and, at the same time, that it has crossed various stages in its establishment and development. Communist social self-government replaces the socialist self-government by the people on the basis of which it is formed. There is continuity between them and a great deal of common features in their origins and development. Communism, as the CPSU program indicates, marks the transformation of the system of socialist people's self-government and socialist democracy into a higher form of organization of society—communist social self-government.

Second, self-government is understood today in considerably broader terms than in the past, encompassing all basic aspects of the organization of society, the exercise of power and the management of the most important social processes. In its second program of 1919 the party described merely the initial stage in self-government which, by virtue of specific historical circumstances, was manifested above all in the development and local and oblast self-government. In a number of other socialist countries the idea prevailed that self-government was a kind of addition to the governmental organization, applicable by no means to all but only to some areas of sociopolitical and economic life. Therefore, the development of self-government in production, for example, was considered separately from strengthening self-government principles in the activities of local representative authorities, the social area, etc. The extreme in this case was removing the state from the self-government system and pitting one against the other, as well as relying on "non-governmental socialism."

Today a broad meaning is given to the idea of "socialist people's self-government." This is a phenomenon of social progress appearing in a variety of forms. It is an entire system of social relations linked to the exercise of power and management of social processes, developed on the basis of the consistent implementation of the Lenin's ideas about the broadest possible and efficient involvement of the toiling masses in management. It not only must serve the interests of the working people but legitimately and increasingly to become the work of the working people themselves, acknowledging no power over them other than that of their own unity.

In defining the role and place of a given unit within the economic mechanism or, in broader terms, within the framework of the political system of the society, it is important to bear in mind that local instrumental types of self-government do not clash with the system of socialist self-government as a whole and that their development should not disturb the normal functioning of the entire system. The systemic nature of self-government is found precisely in the internal harmony among its components, on the basis of the same principles and main ideas: the fact that the full power belongs to the people and is exercised by the people themselves.

Third, the modern concept of self-government is not limited to acknowledging the objective need for a socialist society in the state. It proceeds from the fact that self-government should develop above all within the framework of a governmental organization. Based on the study of experience, the conclusion was reached that the development of socialist democracy and the establishment of communist social self-government cannot be reduced merely to a process of transferring functions from state authorities to public organizations. Furthermore, as was indicated by practical experience at the turn of the 1960s, any hastened transfer of functions could lower management standards and efficiency. It is no accident that later we had to retreat in a number of areas, for the exercise of many administrative functions is actually either seriously hindered or simply impossible without a special full-time machinery.

The development of self-government within the organization of the state should not be interpreted in the least as any weakening of attention to non-governmental, social forms of self-government, or their classification as "second-rate." As was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, it is necessary today to ensure the ever more active involvement of public organizations in the country's management and the efficient use of all forms of direct democracy. However, we cannot ignore the existence of obviously erroneous concepts according to which democracy and self-government can be truly developed only on a non-governmental, a "purely" social basis, for in such a case the state becomes virtually identified with the administrative apparatus. In turn, the democratic institutions, including social bodies, associations and societies, are sometimes considered by the personnel of the state apparatus as "appendages," and "additions" totally dependent on them and toward which they perform some kind of "curatorship" role.

Things went so far that occasionally a soviet executive committee would try to rise above the soviet itself, determining not only the agendas of its sessions but their entire "scenario," including the speeches of deputies! Initiatives and specific development provided by enthusiasts, members of scientific and

technical councils and associations, rationalizers and innovators were either ignored or openly rejected by officials who described themselves as guardians of the interests of the state. Many crucial problems were resolved without the participation of the public even in the areas of culture and sports.

Now the situation is beginning to improve. However, the influence of stereotypes of the recent past remains quite strong. We not only feel the effect of the old bureaucratic mentality but also the shortcomings in the existing mechanism for self-government. As M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, restructuring must take place simultaneously on the upper and lower levels. The development of socialist people's self-government is inseparably related to improvements in the entire organization of the state.

II

The question of the role and place of the state under socialism retains a most important theoretical and practical significance. Historical experience has indicated that slogans calling for the fastest possible elimination of the state, fashionable at one time, and the interpretation of the state as a power alien to self-government, proved to be unfounded. Furthermore, both in the USSR and the other socialist countries, trends toward increasing state control over some areas of social life, particularly in social policy, became clearly apparent. How should such trends be interpreted?

We believe that they proved least of all the "statification" of social life or increased bureaucratic approach to running the country. Under contemporary conditions the relevance of Lenin's understanding of the state as the political organization of the working people becomes even stronger. It would be theoretically erroneous and practically harmful to consider improving the state structure, specialized management, use of computers and increased exigency toward state officials separately from the main line of development, which is that of expanding and intensifying democracy. The flexible and sensible combination of democratization with professionalism is a prerequisite for the successful development of the state.

Efficiency in self-government is ensured above all through a system of popular representation. The increased role and responsibility and the growth of the authority of soviets strengthen democratic principles in the entire organization of the society and encourage the development of other means and methods of self-government.

The soviet is an assembly of people's deputies and it is precisely the deputies who must directly deal with the administration of the state. Currently a great deal is being done to improve the preparations for and holding the sessions, to make the work of permanent commissions more meaningful and to enhance the authority of those elected by the people. However, this is not only a matter of updating or publishing new regulations. As practical experience indicates, passiveness and inertia shown by some deputies, who have become accustomed to limit their activities to approving predrafted resolutions, have not been surmounted as yet. This is the consequence of the old situation within the soviets, when the personnel of the apparatus tried to decide everything in advance. It is also the result of the

fact that frequently meeting officials were made members of soviets but were in fact figureheads.

It is natural that today perfecting the electoral system has become so relevant. Many ways and means of organizing elections for soviets, the basic features of which were established as early as the 1930s, served well. Today, however, they have become largely obsolete. Formalism had penetrated elections of late and interest in the elections on the part of the population had declined noticeably. Not accidentally sociological surveys indicated that the voters were poorly familiar even with those for whom they had voted. In some cases as many as 40 percent of those surveyed were unable to name the deputies representing them in soviets on various levels. Voting certificates in places other than legal residences had been issued quite freely.

The sense of the suggestions and wishes of the working people, as was pointed out at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, was to strengthen democracy in the electoral system on the political level and to ensure the more efficient and actual participation of the voters in all the stages of preparation and holding of elections. It is in accordance with these views that a wide experiment will be conducted during the elections for local soviets in 1987, essentially reduced to two new basic developments. First, elections in many areas will be based on multiple-mandate electoral districts; second, the number of candidates will exceed the number of deputy seats in the district. The study of the results of this experiment, which will affect approximately 2,500 local soviets, as well as elections in the other oblasts, will become the base for the drafting of the new electoral law.

It must be remembered that even the present legislation allows for substantial improvements in electoral practices. In particular, it offers the possibility for more active involvement by the voters in the nominating campaign, not only through labor collectives but also at places of residence and voters' meetings. The voters are given the right to determine the number of candidates and who precisely will have his name put on the ballot. It is precisely practical experience that will ensure mandatory use of booths, which strengthens the guaranteed secrecy of the vote.

The further development of the soviet system legitimately leads to strengthening the unity of the soviets. The local soviets fulfill their purpose, which includes self-government, relying on the direct assistance of the state, under the control of superior soviets and in close "horizontal" interaction with other soviets. That is why it would be erroneous to characterize the local soviets only as authorities for territorial self-government: this would impoverish the content of their activities and prevent them from implementing a number of most important state tasks (housing construction, trade, schools, etc.).

At the same time, it is extremely important clearly to apportion both rights and responsibilities and facilities and funds within the framework of a unified system of soviets. We must proceed on the basis of the actual social and economic characteristics of the territory under specific soviet jurisdiction, guided primarily by the size and nature of the economic potential. The equalization which was practiced in the recent past or else

the one-sided consideration exclusively of the position which the territory held in the federal hierarchy adversely affected control over the development of the largest areas of the country, including the Far East and Siberia. As we know, until recently, many RSFSR krais and oblasts, many of whose indicators were superior to union and autonomous republics, had less rights in solving economic, social and cultural problems than the latter. Naturally, it is a question only of the opportunity to have identical rights in handling an equivalent economic potential rather than differences based on the status of a given national-state formation.

To a certain extent, the increased role of the soviets in economic development is hindered by the fact that the administrative-territorial division on which the soviet system is based, essentially developed as early as the 1930s, is not consistent with the country's division into economic areas. Regional management was split among several soviets. Repeatedly, in an effort to solve this problem, suggestions were made to review the principles and the system of administrative-territorial divisions. Obviously, this will become mandatory in the future. As of today, however, it would be expedient to discuss the creation of economic areas with suitable management mechanisms. The point is that the creation of nothing but state planning institutions, of the type established in the economic areas within the RSFSR, is no more than a palliative. This was confirmed also by the experience of the sovnarkhozes, which were set up in the 1950s and 1960s, whose weakness was largely caused by the fact that they had neither their own party center nor their soviet. Furthermore, in itself the creation of an institution of representatives of the all-union Gosplan on RSFSR territory raises other questions.

Developing the self-governing nature of the soviets urgently requires intensified openness in their work. This greatly determines the attitude of the broad popular masses to party and state policy. Openness presumes not only informing the people of achievements but also raising relevant problems and drawing attention to the major shortcomings in the development of the society; it should be such as to mobilize the people to solve governmental problems. To this effect it would be useful legislatively to settle some problems of strengthening it. In particular, it must be made incumbent upon the soviets to inform the population in advance on problems to be discussed at their sessions. Passing a special law on the mass information media will contribute to upgrading their role and responsibility.

As we know, currently a law on the development of direct democracy is being drafted. It would be expedient for this law to stipulate, in addition to nationwide and republic referendums, also votes on local matters. What makes this even more topical is that it is precisely locally that most frequently questions arise which require a solution with the participation of the entire adult population (such as the projects on which local facilities and funds are spent, choices relative to local development projects, etc.).

III

Upgrading the role and responsibility of the soviets of people's deputies and strengthening socialist statehood are impossible without improving the organization and activities of the state apparatus.

Of late energetic steps have been taken in this respect, particularly in the national economy. The level of centralized economic management is being enhanced and, at the same time, the practice of interference by the center in the daily activities of lower economic units is being eliminated. The autonomy and responsibility of enterprises and associations are being substantially increased.

The structure of the administrative apparatus, the central one in particular, is being reorganized as well. In the past a trend toward increased departmentalism and breaking up ministries and departments into smaller units predominated in such reorganizations. In frequent cases the administrative structure in union republics simply duplicated the national structure and poorly reflected local conditions and needs. Meanwhile, there was the priority of managing the economic sectors which had developed within the territorial complexes, eliminating interdepartmental barriers, strengthening unified management and abolishing parochialism.

At the present time departmentalism is pitted against a comprehensive approach which has been manifested above all in the formulation and implementation of the Food and Energy Programs, the chemization of the national economy, the increased production of consumer goods and services, etc. The USSR Gosagroprom was set up on the basis of six ministries and departments. The USSR Council of Ministers set up a bureau to manage complexes such as fuel and energy and machine building. A USSR Council of Ministers social development bureau was created. The USSR State Committee for Construction was reorganized into a union-republic construction committee as a permanent authority of the USSR Council of Ministers in charge of managing the construction complex, and sectorial construction ministries were replaced by territorial ones. The management of foreign economic activities was restructured: the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission became its center. New forms and methods of combining sectorial with territorial economic management and planning were introduced.

The party calls for substantially improving the work style of the administrative apparatus and for persistently eliminating negative phenomena, such as departmentalism, parochialism, irresponsibility, and a bureaucratic-indifferent attitude toward people. Bureaucratism which, as we know, was mercilessly condemned by Lenin, is the common denominator of these phenomena.

How to fight bureaucratism today? Above all, as was emphasized at the 27th CPSU congress, it is necessary to give every citizen the practical opportunity of actively influencing the formulation of management decisions, to check on their implementation and to obtain the necessary information on the activities of the administrative apparatus. This could be achieved, for example, with the help of systematic reports submitted by the administrative authorities to the soviets of people's deputies (at sessions and meetings of permanent commissions), and to labor collectives. More actively than at present, the soviets could make use in their work of the people's control system. The public organizations and mass information media are given an important role in the campaign against bureaucratism. In other words, the way of surmounting bureaucratism goes through the development of self-government by the people.

The party has charted a firm course toward simplifying and reducing the cost of the administrative apparatus and removing surplus personnel. In itself, the increased share of "managers" in the overall number of people is a natural phenomenon in the age of the scientific and technical revolution and the extensive use of automation and electronics in management and production. However, as practical experience has indicated, the excessive inflation of this apparatus slows down the formulation and adoption of management decisions; it dilutes responsibility and leads to paper shuffling and departmental discoordination. The unjustified increase in the size of the apparatus and the appearance of ever new disordinated administrative structures hindered the country's socioeconomic development. The result was that the increased number of officials did not contribute but, conversely, hindered the growth of the national income.

Sloganeering should be avoided in the restructuring. As everyone remembers, in the past as well there have been personnel reductions but, as a whole, paradoxical though this might seem, the apparatus increased substantially. A peculiar "transfer" of positions from one item of accountability to another took place, supplemented by meeting the requests of managers on different levels for additional personnel. No decisions or warnings, even the strictest possible, were able to correct the situation.

Today our cadres must work under the conditions of expanded democracy, enhanced human factor and developed popular initiative. This increases the importance of the ability of managers to work with people, to be closer to the people, always to consult with them and to live with the interests of the working people. As we know, we are planning to resort more frequently to elections and the use of the competitive system in filling positions. So far, such quite efficient instruments of cadre policy were used essentially in science and higher education. Today they are being extended to management, mainly in the economy: elections are already being held not only for brigade leaders but also for section and shop chiefs. The range of such positions will be increased. Open competitions for positions within the apparatus make it possible not only to control cadre dynamics but also to find reserves. The use of systematic certifications will provide new opportunities for involving the public in the solution of personnel problems.

IV

The development of socialist self-government by the people presumes a significant increase in the role of labor collectives. This reflects unity between the political and economic aspects of democracy.

In what areas will the status of the labor collective develop? First, it will be competent to deal with a broadening circle of problems, previously managed by the administration or the superior authorities. Second, the correlation between consultative and deciding rights changes in favor of the latter. Third, the accountability of enterprise administrations to labor collectives will be increased.

The attention currently paid to labor collectives is an imperative demand of the time. "The labor collective," M.S. Gorbachev noted at the 18th trade

union congress, "is the nucleus in restructuring and, in the final account, everything will depend on the mood, on the way the work will develop in a new style." The party's approach has been reflected in the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the new bylaws of the trade unions and the entire new concept of economic management.

Cost accounting plays a particularly important role under contemporary conditions. It is the main link in the system of perfecting the economic mechanism. It is natural for the broadening of self-government principles in production, particularly on the brigade, section, shop and even enterprise level, to be closely related to strengthening cost accounting and self-financing. However, we should not forget the other tasks of the labor collective, above all those of ensuring normal human relations, a healthy moral and psychological climate and the social development of the enterprise.

The development of the principle of electing economic managers raises many interesting questions. Essentially, practical experience has refuted the fears of skeptics concerning the authority of a director and the principle of one-man command. It turned out that both the search for and choice of candidates, the open discussion of the qualities which the manager should have and the possibility of choosing among several candidates not only do not weaken but enhance the importance of the director's personality. As to the experience acquired in this area, it must be thoroughly studied and the most effective forms and approaches adopted.

As we know, the general assembly is the highest authority of the labor collective. However, direct democracy is not the only form of self-government used at enterprises. The draft Law on the State Enterprise stipulates that in the period between meetings (conferences) the rights of the labor collective will be exercised by its council. We know from practical experience a number of successful cases of such activities are already on record. They are developing into a standard.

The most important thing is not to formalize the activities of the labor collective and reduce them to recording the number of meetings and decisions. The main and decisive criterion is the active life stance of every member of the labor collective and strengthening his interest and proprietary attitude toward the work and determining and using the real possibilities of the entire collective and the individual worker. It is precisely the amount of labor, social justice and development of the individual that are manifestations of the increased role of the labor collective and least of all in the forming of "quadrangles" (administration, party committee, trade union committee, Komsomol committee) or of "pentagons."

New problems arise also in relations between the state and the public organizations. Legitimately, many of them are introducing substantial amendments and supplements to their bylaws, reflecting their increased role in the system of the people's socialist self-government. First, the general trends involve the development of democratic principles, and the enhancement of primary and local organizations and the rank and file members of public organizations. Second is increasing their influence on social life.

Particular mention should be made of the functions of public organizations. The duplication of the work style of administrative organs, typical of the recent past, led to unjustified inflation of their apparatus and increased bureaucratic administration of their work. In some cases a decree passed by a social organization is hardly different from an order issued by a ministry, for both problems and approaches to their solution are identical. The fact that the social organizations ignored their status and purpose in the political system led to the situation that the "residual" approach to the development of the social area, now condemned by the party, frequently failed to meet proper opposition on the part of the public organizations.

As was noted at the 18th Trade Union Congress, it is only the active and principle-minded position of the trade union organization that could earn it the necessary authority in the labor collective. The new role of the trade unions is to be a kind of counterweight to technocratic encroachments in the economy and to promote the strengthening of the social trend of economic decisions. These stipulations are essentially a reflection of the contemporary interpretation of the familiar Leninist formula of the functions of the trade unions under socialism. The protection of the legitimate interests and rights of the working person presumes daring and decisive trade union activities and efficient use of trade union rights. A major difficulty in the past was that in frequent cases managers of public organizations "feared" to insult or alarm managerial personnel or, worse, accepted and shared their views. Today we need officials who are less convenient from the viewpoint of the bureaucrat and the administrator but have more "teeth," and are able to struggle knowledgeably for common interests and for justice.

However, they also need new rights. It is no accident that the trade unions' suggestions of granting them the right to block decisions made without their knowledge pertaining to wages, work and leisure time, and so on, have been supported. Upgrading the role of the Komsomol is related to increasing the rights of Komsomol committees. A very interesting idea has been formulated, according to which in certifying senior governmental officials, the opinion of the public organization, in close cooperation with the respective subunit of the state apparatus, would be consulted.

The restructuring of public organizations also raises the question of their membership. The old pursuit of new members and figures led to the fact that for many people being members of social organizations was reduced only to paying membership dues, not even regularly at that. Actually, there could not even be a question of any real activity, for as many as 50 different social units may be found at large enterprises. Figures indicate that if the citizens were to perform even a modest amount of their social obligations, this would take their entire leisure and working time! Perfecting the mechanism of socialist self-government by the people will not in itself yield positive results unless supported by the active and interested participation of the broadest possible toiling masses in discussing problems and implementing steps relative to perfecting various aspects of life in the country.

In their social work the soviet people do not pursue titles and positions, awards and incentives. The main criterion which determines the scope and

depth of participation in managing the affairs of the state is the social usefulness of such participation and its real results. It is obvious that the working people spare no time and efforts in their desire to change the situation for the better. If such efforts meet with the support of managers, the social activeness of the people increases; if they do not, the result is disappointment and a passive attitude.

Today any indifferent or scornful attitude on the part of officials concerning the participation of citizens in management is the main obstacle to increased sociopolitical activity by the masses. This conclusion is confirmed by sociological studies. The reasons for the insufficient participation in management is found most frequently precisely in the negative attitude held by officials and, much more infrequently, in the scarcity of information, lack of free time, ignorance of organizational forms and legal standards, etc. As the surveys indicate, it is only a small percentage (4-5 percent) of suggestions submitted by the working people that are rejected on the grounds that they make no practical sense or are poorly substantiated. The overwhelming majority of suggestions are not acted upon because of insufficient interest on the part of officials.

What is the reason for this phenomenon? Obviously, not all managers have entirely understood the meaning and purpose of socialist democracy, conceiving its development in an obviously curtailed manner. Surveys of officials have indicated that, although admitting the importance of enhancing the social activeness of the working people and strengthening ties between the Soviet state apparatus and the masses, many managers ignore more specific "instrumental" values, such as involving citizens in the discussion of governmental and public affairs, strengthening public control over managerial activities and optimizing administrative decisions. Yet the party line of democratization of management, the purpose of which is to optimize the entire process of the formulation and adoption of state decisions, presumes a consideration of and comparison among the views and suggestions submitted by the working people.

The improvement of the social atmosphere, as a necessary prerequisite for the development of people's socialist self-government, greatly depends on the systematic observance of the principles of social justice. Intolerance toward its violation, whatever the area of social life it may occur, is a symptom of moral health of society and of the purity and strength of its morality. The most important guarantee for this is the all-round democratization of social life, increased openness and providing the broadest possible opportunities for the manifestation of popular initiative.

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NOT TO HARM RESTRUCTURING MEANS NOT TO DELAY IT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 90-91

[Article by Vladimir Ivanovich Burakovskiy, member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of Cardiovascular Surgery imeni A.N. Bakulev]

[Text] The condition of medical science in our country requires a thorough analysis. Is it consistent with the vital needs of health care? Does it correspond to the scale of the tasks which have made the human factor the center of restructuring of our social life?

Let me start with the facts. Mortality caused by cardiovascular diseases and cancer is declining very slowly. Mortality among newly born children and children under 1 remains excessively high. Damages caused by disturbances in the circulation of blood in the brain are high. The development of a number of areas, such as cardiovascular surgery, organ transplants and child surgery has fallen severely behind. In countries with highly developed medical services, for example, according to the World Health Organization, in order to lower mortality from cardiovascular diseases as many as 400 to 500 surgeries involving artificial blood circulation per 1 million population are needed. Very few such surgeries are performed in our country.

To accuse of this the health care authorities and to seek the reasons only in the poor training of personnel or lack of money and equipment, as is frequently the case, would not be entirely fair. Naturally, shortcomings, some of them quite considerable, exist. However, a great responsibility for them should be shared by the health care authorities and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

Problems such as infant mortality rate, strokes, cardiovascular surgery and many others have never been discussed at meetings of the Academy of Medical Sciences. Decisions made at its sessions have little influence on the further development of medicine and, consequently, of health care and are of no radical nature.

However, does the structure of the academy itself allow the discussion of such important problems and the making of important decisions? The Academy of Medical Sciences has three departments: clinical medicine, medical-biological

sciences and hygiene, and microbiology and epidemiology. This structure was established more than 40 years ago. Has it not become obsolete and does it not hinder the overall development of science and health care?

The main department of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences is that of clinical medicine. It essentially includes virtually all sectors of medicine with the exception of contagious diseases, endocrinology and diseases related to nutritional disturbances. Today specialists in cardiovascular diseases, which account for more than 50 percent of all patients' deaths; malignant tumors and blood diseases, which are the reason for the death of another 20 percent of the population; infant diseases, obstetrics and gynecology; and mental illnesses, which are a grave socioeconomic problem, are combined within a single department for totally puzzling reasons.

Such a structure encourages a large number of meetings. The participation in such meetings of specialists in a great variety of medical fields leads to the fact that those who are the busiest and best trained simply avoid attending discussions of sometimes quite important matters. Usually the meetings are attended by a large number of people who are totally unfamiliar with many of the problems under consideration. This leads to groundless discussions and waste of time. The fact that medical workers working in entirely different areas are affiliated with a single department is a cross violation of the principles of systemic approach to the creation of an optimal structures and comprehensive target planning.

Planning must mandatorily be purposeful. It must be aimed at solving the main problems of the health care system and, consequently, the science of medicine.

Target planning is well-known to science. If the objective is to reduce by one-half losses caused by cardiovascular diseases, for example, and to plan the activities of all academic units and other scientific research institutions in the country in this area in accordance with the achievements of global science and the accelerated development of the most promising basic studies, results would follow immediately.

Target planning must mandatorily be comprehensive and systematic. This allows the researchers to join efforts, channeling them into the solution of the fundamental problems which, in this case, are health care and the science of medicine. This trend enables us to eliminate the lack of coordination which is currently noted in scientific research centers.

In my opinion, which is shared by many of my colleagues, today, to being with, five departments should be set up within the Academy of Medical Sciences: cardiology, cardiovascular surgery and lung diseases; oncology, radiology, blood diseases, gastroenterology, endocrinology and organ and tissue transplants; mental diseases, neurology and neurosurgery; child care, pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology; and viral diseases and particularly dangerous infections and hygiene. Furthermore, a section for theoretical studies must be set up for genetics and immunology; pharmacology and pharmacodynamics; biochemistry, biophysics and enzymology and many others.

It is of little use to manage the develop of medical science, create an optimal structure and formulate a target plan without a profound knowledge of the basic tasks in health care and without modern planning methods based, in particular, on the use of mathematics and modeling.

I am convinced that if we analyze the situation in medicine, as physicians should, we would rapidly find accurate solutions and personnel who could implement such decisions. In the course of our professional activities we must systematically profess the ancient principle in medicine: not to harm. We must not harm restructuring which is affecting all areas of our social and scientific life. In my view, this means not to be slow. The need for restructuring has long become topical and it is our duty, our duty to the people, the party and, finally, to science, to dedicate to it our entire knowledge and energy.

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RESTRUCTURING OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMIC MECHANISM. NOVA MYSL ON THE PAGES OF 'KOMMUNIST'

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[Article especially prepared for KOMMUNIST by the journal NOVA MYSL, theoretical and political journal of the CZCP Central Committee. Published simultaneously in NOVA MYSL]

[Text] One year ago last March the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party adopted a political program for the strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. This applies, above all, to economic intensification.

This historical task is based on the possibility and need for the fuller utilization of the entire potential of the national economy and the experience and creative forces of the working people. The qualitatively new concept which was adopted at the congress calls for ensuring the significantly greater dynamic growth of public labor productivity, upgrading the efficiency of the entire reproduction process and accelerating economic intensification, above all on the basis of the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the international socialist division of labor.

The strategic line of acceleration demands, as was formulated in the CZCP Central Committee political report to the 17th Party Congress, "Improving centralized management while, at the same time, increasing the responsibility and autonomy of lower units and providing comprehensive support for the development of the initiative and interest of labor collectives." The planned quality changes also mean that there will be a gradual restructuring of the economic mechanism vertically, from the central authorities to individual production sectors, departments, enterprises and labor collectives, and the development of horizontal relations among all areas of the socialist economy (territorial and sectorial authorities and enterprises), since the existing ways and means of solving economic, scientific and technical, demographic, ecological and other problems are insufficiently advanced. In this connection, the CZCP Central Committee Presidium and the Czechoslovak government adopted "Principles Governing the Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic."

The objective of the socialist society is to ensure the maximal and efficient satisfaction of social, collective and individual needs. The economic mechanism, including the use of value categories, is a necessary means of satisfying such needs. The Principles do not emphasize the task of upgrading efficiency for their sake. Efficiency means the primary satisfaction of the political, social, economic, cultural and ecological needs of society as a whole, in their global understanding, as well as the preservation of peace the world over.

A characteristic feature of the Principles is their connection with the preceding reorganizations which were carried out in economic life on the basis of the party's resolutions, and with greater or lesser consistency. The history of the most essential changes in economic management may be traced to 1962, to the 12th Party Congress which called for strengthening the leading activities of the government, the ministries and the national committees on all levels, to improve enterprise management on the basis of the systematic use of the principle of democratic centralism, to perfect planning, to eliminate all unnecessary administrative units, to put an end to unjustified bureaucratic administration and to bring management closer to production.

In January 1965 the CZCP Central Committee adopted at its plenum the decree "On Basic Directions in Perfecting the Planned Management of the National Economy and the Work of the Party," which was of essential importance. Let us point out, above all, two universally significant concepts included in decree's preamble. The first noted that the existing system of economic management had performed its historical role during the preceding period in the development of the society and was no longer consistent with steadily growing tasks; furthermore, a reference was made to the need to use all the positive features of that system, to enrich it with new elements and thus to convert to a qualitatively more advanced socialist management system. The second important stipulation was that of the natural growth of the party's role as the leading force in society whose basic principle is that of democratic centralism. This makes it possible to connect, to link within a single unit, management from the center with the initiative of the masses. The document further proceeded from the mandatory nature of decisions passed by the center concerning the most important ratios of output, main trends in the development of production forces and procedure for the use of economic management levers. The national economic plan was acknowledged as the main instrument in managing the socialist economy. Other major concepts included in the document emphasized the development of enterprise initiative and the use of material incentive and the instruments of commodity-monetary relations.

It was planned that the application of this management system would be achieved over a long period of time and would include experimentation at individual enterprises and the gradual substitution of some instruments with others, while at the same time enterprises would be converted to cost accounting. However, these mechanisms became greatly distorted, particularly during the 1968-1969 crisis. Czechoslovak economic science and practice were profoundly damaged by right-wing opportunism and revisionism. As stipulated in the "Lesson From the Crisis Development in the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Society After the 13th CZCP Congress," a document which was adopted at the December 1970 CZCP Central Committee Plenum, in trying to attain their

objectives the right-wing and antisocialist forces relied on depriving the party of its leading role in the economy, distorting the principles of centralized planned economic management and promoting a revisionist concept of economic management. Honest aspirations toward, considerations and concepts related to further steps to be taken in the reorganization of the economic mechanism were drowned in political demagoguery, the purpose of which was to conceal all kinds of far-reaching political ambitions on the part of many so-called "progressive" representatives of right-wing forces.

Quite quickly, as early as January 1970, the new party leadership restored measures aimed at improving planned economic management, thereby asserting the accuracy of the basic principles of 1965. Subsequently as well, it concentrated its attention and energy on formulating and purposefully implementing steps to improve planned economic management. This was reflected in the discussions which were held at several CZCP Central Committee plenums, the documents they adopted and the proceedings of all party congresses. In March 1980 the CZCP Central Committee Presidium and the Czechoslovak government approved a "Set of Measures to Improve the Planned Management of the National Economy for the Period After 1980," which was the answer to the increased requirements concerning economic management under conditions of a conversion to intensive economic management methods. This "Set of Measures" was the result of the theoretical study of previous experience in managing the Czechoslovak economy, the study of changes in the management systems of other socialist countries and, above all, the awareness of the need to make the advancement of production relations consistent with dynamically developing production forces.

The practice of the application of the "Set of Measures" indicated that we were following the right way and that the principles on which it was based were consistent with the requirements of upgrading the efficiency of our economy. Positive changes were achieved in economic management, profits, growth of labor productivity and lowering of production costs. The "Set of Measures" helped our economy to adapt to the new conditions and to deal with the consequences of curtailed procurements of some raw material and energy resources. However, it also became apparent that a number of principles included in the "Set of Measures" did not take into consideration all the requirements of intensive development and, furthermore, that not all stipulations of this document had been fully implemented on all management levels. The desired turn toward comprehensive utilization of long-term and profound factors of intensification did not occur. This was noted particularly in the slowing down of the pace of utilization of the latest scientific and practical achievements. The "Set of Measures" provided wide scope for the process of economic intensification without, however, allowing us to reach the necessary depth in implementing this process.

On the basis of the scientific study of the existing system for planning and managing the national economy and in connection with the task of accelerating socioeconomic development, the 17th CZCP Congress formulated the main trends for its improvement and for the gradual restructuring of the economic mechanism. To this effect, the CZCP Central Committee Presidium and Czechoslovak government discussed and adopted a "Program for the Implementation of Further Measures in the Plant Management System During the

8th 5-Year Period" and "Principles for Restructuring the Czechoslovak Economic Mechanism." By the end of 1987 the formulation of the comprehensive document on restructuring the economic mechanism will reach the level of specific instructions and regulations, so that its full impact may be felt in the formulation of the 9th 5-Year Plan.

Other documents were also adopted, such as "Principles of the Comprehensive Experiment for Upgrading the Autonomy and Responsibility of Economic Organizations for Efficient Development," "Steps to Improve the Quality of Czechoslovak Output," "Principles for Quality Control Provided by the People's Control Committees of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic," "Principles for Improving the Management and Organization of Foreign Trade" and "General Regulations for Establishing Direct Relations Between Czechoslovak Socialist Organizations and Organizations in CEMA-Member Countries." The purpose of such documents is to give a new orientation in the activities of party, state and public agencies and organizations and to direct their efforts on accelerating the growth rates of labor productivity and the satisfaction of social requirements.

This brief excursion into the history of the efforts to improve the economic mechanism underscores the permanent nature of some of its principles, such as public ownership of the means of production, the party's leading role, the systematic upsurge of the economy, subordinating production to the satisfaction of the needs of the working people, democratic centralism, and others. It also indicates the need for change in this mechanism which, according to the times, the domestic and foreign conditions in which socialist society functions, the degree of its maturity, and so on, could and should be carried out within specified forms and in sequence, with the help of corresponding instruments and methods. At some stages of development it may be a question of partial changes whereas in others such changes must be of an essential nature. It is obvious that in the conversion of the economy to an intensive type of socialist expanded reproduction, a situation which requires essential changes arises.

Naturally, we must not forget the interconnection among all elements in the economic mechanism, for which reason it is important for any, even a partial change to be formulated and implemented as we take into consideration its impact on the functioning of the economic mechanism as a single entity. Finally, this voyage into the history of changes in the management and planning system, whether already implemented in full, partially or not at all, had as its purpose to indicate the party's concern for this important aspect of its economic policy and to assert the idea that the most important changes in the economic mechanism are not a one-time act but a process. This process must be open and correctable. Risks and conflicts are not excluded.

This presumes the intensified study of the economic theory of the laws of socialism. In this case the science of economics and its alliance with social practice face quite serious problems the solution of which is demanded by the party and state economic policy. "Theoretical problems must not be separated from practical problems. However, nor should we replace theory with a simple registration of facts. Theory must outstrip practical experience. It must consider phenomena more broadly. It must look deeper, it must see 'that which

is concealed by time'." These words, borrowed from M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the all-union conference of heads of social science departments, cannot fail to inspire our economic science. It must make a new and deeper study of the essential, of the basic economic laws which govern all socioeconomic systems (such as the law of time saving) and the specific laws of socialism (the basic economic law, the law of proportional development of public production, the law of consistency between the levels of development of production forces and production relations, the law of perfecting the forms of implementation of public ownership in the full complexity of its structure, etc.). Depending on the material conditions under which contemporary socialist production operates, the effect of a number of economic laws and categories changes. Their study and utilization in national economic practice are topics of basic and applied economic research.

The scientific development by the science of economics of such laws and categories will contribute to the accelerated development of production forces, the use of the most advanced technologies in production, the qualitative advancement of production relations and changes in administration, planning and economic management. For example, economics should prove that one cannot rely on the automatic action of the law of value under conditions of socialist commodity production. It is a question of making optimal use of the law of value and of commodity-monetary relations, preventing them from acting spontaneously, in conflict with democratic centralism but, conversely, forcing them to "work" within it. In turn, this means optimized price-setting in accordance with the specific conditions prevailing in individual areas and activities (production lines) in the national economy and their importance in the areas of political strategy, defense of the state, contribution to scientific and technical progress and ensuring the availability of strategically important products (raw materials, food, etc.).

Another task of the theoretical (scientific) front is to assist in the systematic evaluation of changes occurring in the economic mechanism and, as they become necessary, to suggest new changes which could subsequently raise the level of its efficiency. In this case we must make a critical evaluation of existing theoretical knowledge and abandon obsolete views and prejudices. As we can see, our economic science, as that in the USSR and the other socialist countries, offers a broad field of action and, at the same time, has a certain duty in the sense of influencing the formulation and reaching of objectives consistent with the strategy of accelerated social development.

The scientific and systematic restructuring of the economic mechanism is the main way of establishing a dynamic consistency between production forces and production relations. This is the main, the decisive prerequisite in making use of the advantages of the socialist system and the acceleration of socioeconomic development. However, this consistency is not automatic. It is legitimate for some forms of socialist production relations to fall behind in their development and, in time, to become a hindrance to social progress.

Two types of violations of the dynamic correlation between production relations and production forces may occur. The first is that a given aspect of production relations will fall behind the growth of production forces. In practical terms this means preserving the types of economic management methods

which appeared at earlier stages in this development. The other is anticipation, the enhancement of forms of production relations for which proper prerequisites do not exist at the given time. In this case administrative interference leads to voluntarism, which is reflected on economic management methods. Both violations lead to negative consequences and, as a result of the wrong solution of nonantagonistic conflicts, to a slowed down development of production forces.

The improvement of socialist production relations not only reflects the contemporary condition of production forces but is also a necessary prerequisite for their further progress. The dialectical contradiction within the unity of production forces and socialist production relations is a source of social progress. In his article "Production Relations and Economic Mechanism," L. Abalkin describes the interconnection between production relations and production forces under socialism as follows: "Improvements in production relations and solving contradictions between their specific forms and the steadily rising level of production forces take place above all through the respective changes in the most flexible and mobile strata of such relations and their organizational and economic subsystem, which forms the content of the economic mechanism. That is precisely why the organization and improvement of this mechanism are decisive prerequisites for the efficient and rapid development of the national economy" (EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No 46, 1986, p 2).

This means perfecting production relations in all areas of the reproduction process: in production itself and even more systematically (something which is frequently forgotten) in distribution relations, trade and consumption. Their significance is increasing steadily and it is precisely improving such relations that is one of the most important tasks in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The interdependence between production and consumption becomes increasingly greater. This indicates the need to use social factors as a source of economic growth and a production stimulator. From the social viewpoint, distribution, trade and consumption must contribute ever more intensively to shaping relations between enterprises and the people they employ.

The qualitative changes in production relations will be made with the help of changes in the economic planning and management and restructuring mechanism. These are political steps. In this connection, more actively than in the past priority is given to two aspects of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the interconnection between economics and politics: the primacy of politics over economics and the reciprocal influence of politics on economics. Politics performs a leading role as the guiding force and in shaping a new approach to the solution of economic problems which consist, above all, of accelerating economic intensification. Politics is manifested in the active influence on public, group and individual interests. It directs them, giving preference to the interests of society. Politics translates these interests into the language of the main objectives consistent with the needs of the overwhelming majority of working people. It is also the principal means of solving social and economic problems.

Upgrading the role of the human factor, as the most essential component of production forces in a socialist society, is a major aspect of political activities. The all-round enhancement of activities of working people's collectives in economics and their interest in successfully implementing the strategy of acceleration of social development are the essence and the main requirement in restructuring the economic mechanism.

The main function of the economic mechanism and related restructuring could be reduced to three aspects. First, making developing production forces consistent with production relations; second, the economic actualization of socialist social ownership, manifested in the coordination of economic interests, among which priority is assumed by the social interests; third, the implementation of the policy of the party and the state (naturally, the economic mechanism is not the only instrument for the implementation of this policy). If the economic mechanism unsatisfactorily performs such dialectically interrelated functions, a variety of difficulties and negative phenomena appear in the economy, such as a reduced pace of economic growth, which entails negative social consequences; a worsening of qualitative production indicators and of the quality of consumer values; the priority of social interests is violated; a scarcity of some commodities appears on the market, etc. In principle, we can say that economic policy can successfully implement only those plans, concepts and tasks for which corresponding economic mechanisms have been developed. Therefore, the problems of intensive development cannot be solved with the help of an economic mechanism consistent with an extensive type of economic growth.

The "Principles of Restructuring the Economic Mechanism of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic" explain and specify in detail the nature of strengthening centralized management and planning while respectively increasing the level of autonomy and responsibility of economic organizations in meeting the requirements and needs of the entire society on the basis of cost accounting economic management methods. This means strengthening both sides of the principle of democratic centralism.

The main trend stipulated in the "Principles" is upgrading the role of centralized management and planning. This will call for concentrating the attention of the central economic authorities on conceptual and strategic aspects of the increased efficiency of the national economy and the formulation of long-term programs for technical progress and capital investments, structural changes, participation in the international division of labor, developing individual territories, including the habitat, and ensuring a balanced and proportional development of the national economy. Current and administrative management of production-economic associations, which are the basic units in the system for centralized management of Czechoslovak industry, construction and enterprises, provided by the center, will be substantially limited. The strengthening of centralized management and planning also means increasing the exigency and strengthening the overall mandatory nature of economic stipulations, standards and rules which govern the economic activities of economic organizations and optimal coordination between the state and individual enterprise plans.

The increased responsibility and autonomy of the cost accounting area means, above all, granting more rights to organizations in formulating and implementing economic plans, using resources they have developed through their own efforts, improving their organizational structures, organizing marketing, procurement and cooperated relations (including establishing direct relations with organizations in CEMA-member countries) and drafting lists of commodities in accordance with the purposes of the specific organizations, as formulated in their statutes. The cost accounting area will be fully responsible for meeting the demands of society within the limits of a specific area of activities, for using means of production it has received from society, establishing the enterprise development fund and meeting its own expenditures. Full cost accounting is the material foundation for the autonomy and responsibility of enterprises and, if properly used, stimulates the enhancement of the labor activeness and participation of the working people in production management. The cost accounting organizations must be guided in their activities by mandatory indicators and economic and other standards and rules, and the state plans for variety in output and ensure the implementation of concluded economic contracts.

In that sense the "Principles" call for streamlining relations between central authorities and organizations in the cost accounting area and correspondingly amending their working methods. In order to ensure the dynamic growth of the national income, net income has been adopted as the basic economic management criterion. Upgrading the autonomy and responsibility of enterprises and production-economic associations requires the type of economic environment which would exclude poor economic management as a result of constant amendments of the plan, and block a variety of exceptions and discounts which conceal poor work, tolerance of economically unjustified price increases, etc. It is only under such circumstances that autonomy and related responsibility will bring about socially useful initiatives and make the workers truly caring owners. It is only under such circumstances that we could expect that increased autonomy will be accompanied by increased national economic efficiency. Economic conditions will force producers to engage in the socially necessary updating of commodities, equalize the rights of suppliers and consumers and make the latter equal partners in establishing long-term relations with suppliers.

Streamlining relations between natural volume and value indicators used in management is a very important part of the "Principles." Actually, efficiency can be increased also by controlling on a planned basis the correlation between consumer value and cost, which are the two sides of a commodity. The production of high-quality consumer values in the necessary amounts and variety should take place simultaneously lowering their production cost, i.e., the socially necessary production outlays. That is why value criteria as well will become an integral part of the formulation and implementation of plans. However, one must not rely, as we pointed out, exclusively on the automatic effect of commodity-monetary relations. The effect of value levers must be steadily controlled and assessed and, if necessary, they must be corrected. Therefore, the more flexible the economic mechanism becomes, which is essentially the purpose of the "Principles," the more systematic must be control over its application in cost accounting.

The "Principles" pay great attention to the problem of distribution according to labor. To begin with, the problem lies in perfecting the measure of labor itself and increasing the efficiency of control over the interconnection between the measure of labor and consumption. This determines both the increased interest of the people in highly efficient activities as well as the assertion of the specific socialist principles of social justice. The wage system will be structured also on the basis of end labor results, collective labor above all, and its contribution to the growth of the national income. This will increase the interest of the working people in the collective (brigade) form of labor organization and wages. Unquestionably, the efficiency of such steps will be manifested in improvements in the moral climate in society as a whole, in the attitude of the people toward the implementation of party tasks and the development of their social and labor activeness. Moral rewards for labor results, combined with material incentives, will play an increasing role.

The "Principles" develop an approach to management and planning which is applicable in scientific and technical development, investments and foreign economic relations. They also provide a more detailed development of problems of price control and relations between suppliers and consumers. The "Principles" make it possible to set up socialist organizations of different structures and sizes needed in order to meet social requirements. This should help in the struggle against the abuse of monopoly status by some economic organizations.

The reorganization experience acquired in our country and in other socialist countries indicates the great importance of thoroughly preparing all measures and promptly detecting and eliminating the reasons for problems rather than avoiding their solution. It was to this effect that the "Principles Governing the Comprehensive Experiment in Increasing the Autonomy and Responsibility of Economic Organizations for Efficient Development" were adopted. This experiment is quite similar to the "Principles of Restructuring the Economic Mechanism in the CZSR." However, it also calls for the implementation of a number of topical steps aimed at assisting in the fulfillment of the 8th 5-Year Plan. Its purpose is to test the efficiency of the changes earmarked in the "Principles of Restructuring." The task shared by these documents is that of achieving maximal production efficiency by enterprises and production-economic associations taking part in the experiment. Its essence is the intensification of cost accounting on the basis of the use of economic management methods. Since the beginning of this year the experiment has been carried out at the Jablonecka Bizuteria and Krystalex Novy-Bor production-economic associations. This year, or starting with 1 January 1988, gradually preselected nine associations and 13 enterprises will be added to them.

Furthermore, in connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the need to ensure the implementation of the 8th 5-Year Plan, other documents were adopted which, in turn, should help to improve the quality of output, foreign trade efficiency and the development of new forms of international socialist economic integration. This applies to "Measures to Improve the Quality of Czechoslovak Output," "Principles of Quality Control Provided by the People's Control Committees of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic,"

"General Rules for Establishing Direct Relations Between Socialist Organizations in Czechoslovakia and Organizations of CEMA-Member Countries," and "Principles Governing Perfecting the Management and Organization of Foreign Trade."

The restructuring of the economic mechanism, including the implementation of steps stipulated in these documents, is a complex process which requires the interested participation of all working people and the concentrated and united efforts of state, economic, trade union and other authorities and organizations, under the guidance of the Communist Party. Great responsibility is assumed by all units within the political system—the party, the state and the public organizations within the National Front.

The "Principles of Restructuring" note that "The strategy of accelerating economic development through national economic intensification.... together with the restructuring of the economic mechanism legitimately increases requirements concerning the party's leading and control functions and the ways and means of its activities." This applies above all to upgrading the efficiency of primary party organizations, cadre policy and political-organizational and ideological work. Requirements concerning the entire party structure—from the Central Committee to the primary organizations—become stricter. The successful implementation by the primary party organizations of their role requires (within the limits of their competence) greater collectivism and responsibility in political-organizational and ideological-educational support in restructuring the economic mechanism. This will also be one of the most important criterion in assessing party work.

The role of the socialist state, particularly in terms of its leading, administrative and legislative functions, will increase as well. The important and totally irreplaceable role of the state is also confirmed by the fact that the "Principles" are a document jointly issued by the CZCP Central Committee Presidium and the Czechoslovak government. The work of the state apparatus must be reinterpreted and improved in order to strengthen its central leadership. The restructuring of the economic mechanism presumes, furthermore, the legal codification of the changes. This is an important prerequisite for upgrading their efficiency. Another task of the state is more actively to strengthen, protect and further develop socialist public property, ensure the social guarantees given to the working people and make full use of its economic-organizing function. Its role, therefore, will legitimately increase in the course of the reorganization of planned economic management.

The social organizations within the National Front, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement above all, must participate ever more actively in the implementation of economic policy, of which the economic mechanism is a structural part. The trade unions must bear their share of responsibility for the implementation of the plan in all its aspects: attaining the necessary qualitative and quantitative indicators, applying the most advanced technologies, improving relations between suppliers and consumers, and ensuring high quality of output. They must also organize progressive forms of socialist competition, linking it to the use of cost accounting. Together with the party organizations and economic managers, they must enhance the

participation of the working people in management, i.e., in the formulation and the evaluation of plans, solving wage problems and problems of the utilization of earned funds aimed at improving working and living conditions or, in other words, in implementing social policy in all of its aspects.

Changes in the economic way of thinking by all members of society are a prerequisite for the implementation of the "Principles." Consequently, the first task is for the content and spirit of the "Principles" to be actively mastered above all by economic managers on all levels. We consider it our task comprehensively to assist in this process, for which reason this topic will be further developed in subsequent journal issues, approached from different sides.

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RELEVANCE OF ANTONIO GRAMSCI'S IDEAS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 102-109

[Article by Leonid Borisovich Popov, candidate of economic sciences, and Genrikh Pavlovich Smirnov, publicist]

[Text] The increasing number of his works, published throughout the world, are a testimony of the permanent value and significance of the legacy of Antonio Gramsci, the outstanding Italian revolutionary. Antonio Gramsci talks with his readers not only in Italian but also in German, English, Japanese and Portuguese. In the past 5 years, several editions of his works have been published in Russian, in a great variety of areas--politics, aesthetics, pedagogy and history. The popularity of the works by the founder of the Italian Communist Party in our country is confirmed by statistics of demand: In 1986 at the Library imeni V.I. Lenin alone works by A. Gramsci were among those most frequently requested by readers of Marxist literature after those of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Politizdat is preparing for publication in the immediate future A. Gramsci's fundamental work "Tyuremnyye Tetradi" [Notes From Prison].

Such interest in Gramsci's work is no accident. In addition to the legitimately increasing attention paid to problems of intensification of revolutionary processes in our age, it is also explained by the fact that Gramsci worked in one of the citadels of capitalism, which to this day is showing a relative resistance to revolutionary change. This applies to Western Europe, with its historically developed capitalist foundations, strong working class and very experienced bourgeoisie.

Gramsci's theoretical work is focused on the socialist revolution, on its ways and possibilities in the leading capitalist countries, the reasons for the temporary retreat of the communist and worker movements in the West in the 1920s and 1930s, and the search for new forms of struggle for asserting the hegemony of the working class in a society objectively ripe for socialist change.

This noted personality of the Italian Communist Party died 50 years ago. It would be antiscientific to try today to adapt a "Gramsci quotation" to current phenomena, and even more antiscientific to try to make any features of the political platform of a given party such as, for example, demand for

"political pluralism" or a "parliamentary way" to socialism "to fit Gramsci." What matters in the case of Gramsci, as in the case of all the greatest Marxists, are the method, summation and analysis, the profound and outstanding way of thinking, those pearls of the mind which distinguish the dialectical Marxist from the scholastic and the dogmatist.

The attention and respect which Gramsci showed for K. Marx and his great doctrine, and for V.I. Lenin's tremendous theoretical and political experience, was no accident. "Marx was great and his activities were fruitful not because he invented something out of nothing or was able to extract from his imagination an original vision of history, but because what was fragmented and unfinished and immature gained through Marx a maturity, became a system and was realized.... He is great and his work is fruitful in the realm of action and the mind; his books changed the world the way they changed the mind," Gramsci wrote (Antonio Gramsci, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, p 40). Is this admiration and reverence for a teacher or firm belief in the accuracy of Marxist's ideas and in the triumph of the future revolution? Naturally, this is a case of deep understanding of the role which Marx played in history and the revolutionary movement, an understanding of the need for the creative application of Marxist doctrine. "To us," Gramsci goes on to say, "Karl Marx is a teacher of spiritual and moral life rather than a shepherd with a staff in his hand. He shakes us out of our mental lethargy; he awakens the beneficial energy which is slumbering but which must be awakened to wage battles which bring good" (ibid., p 42). How sharp and relevant are these words, addressed not to the past but to the present and the future!

In precisely the same graphic and accurate manner Gramsci describes Lenin: "Comrade Lenin initiated a new process in the development of history precisely because he too expressed and completed the entire process of development of past history not only of Russian but of the entire world" (ibid., p 144).

Naturally, however imagistic these features may be, in themselves they are no proof of the direct and life-generating link between Gramsci's doctrine and Marxism-Leninism. We find proof of this connection and his loyalty to the ideas of Marx and Lenin in the concepts he formulated and developed: the strategy of the struggle of the Italian proletariat, as inseparably related to the revolutionary process in Europe; class alliances; the new historical bloc; hegemony; "mobile" and "trench" warfare and many others. These concepts enrich Marxist-Leninist theories in accordance with the situation which had developed in Italy and Western Europe in the 1920s and 1930s.

Nevertheless, attempts are occasionally made to remove Gramsci and his ideas from the overall course of Marxist thinking and to depict him as representing an Italian or, at best, a Western European branch of Marxism, as an antithesis to Lenin's "Russian" Marxism, etc. With equal frequency some people developed the desire to pit Gramsci...against Gramsci himself and to present the last period in the development of his philosophy, which was most completely expressed in his "Notes From Prison," as truly "Gramscianic," and to pit it against his activities related to the newspaper ORDINE NUOVO and label such activities "Leninist." Actually, there is a certain kernel of truth in this case perhaps for the reason alone that during his ORDINE NUOVO period Gramsci

assumed that "historical conditions in Italy were not very different from those in Russia" (ibid., p 71). We must not forget, however, that it was precisely at that time that Gramsci was laying the Leninist foundations of his theory, which is a single and indivisible entity. Lenin and Gramsci acted in different countries and under different political conditions. However, this does not mean in the least that one of them was developing "orthodox" Marxism on "Russian soil" while the other tried to create some kind of "autonomous" branch of Marxism.

On the contrary, like V.I. Lenin, A. Gramsci always considered Marxism in its entirety, as a foundation for the study of society and the state and ways for the working class to assume political power in a developed capitalist society. He consistently supported the views expressed by Marx, Engels and Lenin on all basic problems of the theory of the revolution, although aware of the need for their creative development under Italian conditions and taking into consideration the specific conditions of this separate link within the system of Western European capitalism. Without Gramsci's theoretical works and political experience, the Italian Communist Party would have probably taken a different turn and would not have turned (or may have turned but, subsequently, and in different ways) into the powerful nationwide force which it is today. Without Gramsci's theory, obviously today the achievements of Western European Marxist philosophy would have been different and some historical problems would have been looked at and interpreted differently.

The relevance of Gramsci's ideological legacy is found not only in his views and precise political formulations but also his phenomenal intuition and ability to anticipate, which are intrinsic features of any truly great political leader.

Today as well Gramsci's stipulations on the "trench" and "flexible" warfare waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, his views on the correlation between dictatorship and hegemony as different elements or stages in the struggle for building a socialist society and his study of problems of mass awareness, etc., have not lost none of their relevance. They are subject to lively discussions within the communist and worker movements in countries characterized by a high level of development of capitalist relations, a deep crisis in the ideological domination of the bourgeoisie and a significant influence of the democratic movement and the communist parties. However, these ideas are not only discussed but are also a reliable support to the communist parties operating under extremely difficult circumstances of political struggle in the highly developed capitalist countries.

Gramsci is above all a theoretician of the revolutionary transformation of a capitalist into a socialist society. The most important thing in his view is the central role which the working class--the urban and rural proletariat--plays in this process. "Factory workers and the poorest peasants," Gramsci noted, "are the two forces of the proletarian revolution.... They are the backbone of the revolution...." (Ibid., p 72). Under the conditions in which this class is subject to oppression and exploitation, the only solution according to Gramsci was the following: "One must lead these hundreds of thousands of working people, the overwhelming majority of the Italian working population, toward the elimination of the contradictions which are tearing

society apart. This can be accomplished only by destroying the existing political and economic system and replacing it with a new system in which the interests and aspirations of those who work and produce material goods will find their full manifestation and satisfaction" (ibid., p 157).

Gramsci formulated profoundly, in a Leninist style, the question of who is to organize the revolutionary forces and could lead the working people to victory and found a state of the workers. "The party," Gramsci claims, "remains the highest level of this unrestrainable movement of the masses. The party provides the most efficient dictatorship, a dictatorship founded on reputation, i.e., on the conscious and voluntary acceptance of authority, considered necessary if the initiated undertaking is to be fully successful" (ibid., p 79). At the same time, in Gramsci's view the question of the party is not merely one of singling out a leading group but "above all a problem of organization and discipline," which is determining if the revolution is to be successful (ibid., p 73).

Gramsci realized that given a bourgeois superstructure, which had been developed and had operated adequately for centuries, a number of other features were of great importance, such as the concept of hegemony: the hegemony of the proletariat within society at the time of transition from capitalism to socialism and in building the new society.

Antonio Gramsci proceeded from the belief that the working class was historically mature enough to assume the management of society. The Italian revolutionary based this conviction on the Marxist study of the economic, social and political crisis of the bourgeois system. Based on his profound study of the experience of the Great October Revolution in Russia, he reached the conclusion of the historical inevitability of a proletarian revolution in the West, including Italy.

However, Gramsci's activities blossomed during a period of temporary defeat of the working class in the West. Naturally, the noted leader of the Italian Communist Party asked himself: What were the reasons for the relatively greater stability of the capitalist system in the West compared with old Russia? He considered as one of the basic reasons the greater stability of the so-called "civilian society" in developed capitalist countries.

"We know," Gramsci wrote, recalling the view expressed by Marx and Lenin, "that the struggle waged by the proletariat against capitalism is developing along three fronts: economic, political and ideological" (ibid., p 176). These types of struggle are closely interrelated. "Essentially," Gramsci claims, "the three fronts of the struggle waged by the proletariat may be reduced to a single front for the party of the working class, which is what it is precisely because its activities reflect and specifically embody all requirements on which this comprehensive struggle is based" (ibid., p 177). Nevertheless, under the conditions of a protracted struggle waged by the proletariat for power, Gramsci considered particularly important to single out the significance of the ideological struggle. "...The primacy of the social group," he emphasizes, "is manifested in two aspects: as 'domination' and as 'spiritual and moral leadership'" (ibid., p 330).

Analyzing the mechanism of bourgeois domination in capitalist society from the viewpoint of the tasks of the proletariat, Gramsci singled out its three essential components, its three "societies" as he termed them: the economic society or the base (the economic foundation of bourgeois rule is ownership of means of production and distribution); the political society and the civilian society or the superstructure. One could note two major superstructural levels, Gramsci wrote: the one known as a "civilian society," i.e., the sum total of agencies usually described as "private" and the "political society," or the state (see "Notes From Prison," Rome, 1975, p 1518).

According to Gramsci, the state combines political domination ("the political society") with a system of ideological and moral domination ("civilian society"). Political domination, which is based on coercion, he describes as dictatorship and ideological and moral domination as hegemony. The characteristic of the latter in terms of the moral, intellectual and political leadership of society is the fact that the awareness of the ruling class and its outlook and objectives are considered as the only sensible and unquestionable ones, as universal common sense. The ability of the ruling class to lead society and to accustom it to its own rules of behavior as representing the highest wisdom is what Gramsci describes as hegemony.

In the circumstances prevailing in developed capitalist countries, according to Gramsci, it would be difficult for the proletariat to seize the power as a result of a single, albeit well prepared, attack mounted against the fortress of capitalism. He therefore raises the question of the need for a lengthy period of struggle by the proletariat (the so-called "trench warfare") for winning over the "civilian society" on the side of the working class. The purpose of this struggle is to achieve working class hegemony. Hegemony presumes not only a broad ideological activity, deep within society, but also the establishment of a broad system of alliances with other strata and classes oppressed by capitalism.

In this connection, A. Gramsci introduces the concept of the new "historical bloc." The working class, he believes, must simultaneously struggle for gaining firm and dominant positions in the economy and for dominating society ideologically and morally. He emphasizes that in order to achieve this objective, the intelligentsia of the progressive class (the "organic intelligentsia") must win over the "traditional" intelligentsia. The result will be an "ideological bloc," which can give the working class hegemony in a "civilian society."

Taking into consideration specific Italian conditions, Gramsci formulated the idea of a political alliance between the workers of the north and the peasants of the south in removing the bourgeoisie from power. The economic foundation of this alliance should be giving the land to the peasants, while the social foundation should be the hegemony of the proletariat.

Subsequent historical events clearly confirmed the accuracy of many of Gramsci's conclusions and predictions. In countries in which the working class and its vanguard, the communist party, were able to broaden their influence and establish broad alliances with other strata and classes and other political forces, the proletariat was able to lead the country to

radical democratic changes or else raise realistically the question of its participation in the country's management. In countries where such alliances were not created or else where they were loose and weak, the political influence of the working class and its vanguard remained at best limited, and failed to increase.

Gramsci's stipulation of the need for the proletariat to set up its own structure of a "civilian society," organize a new "historical bloc," etc., are clearly in accordance with Lenin's concept of the need to win the masses over on the side of the revolution. Let us recall that V.I. Lenin emphasized that as the nature of a struggle changes the very concept of mass changes as well. In order to prepare for revolution the activities of several thousand activist workers would be sufficient. However, "after the revolution has been sufficiently prepared, the concept of 'mass' changes: several thousand workers are no longer a mass. This word begins to mean something else.... It means the majority, and not simply the majority of workers but the majority of all exploited people...." (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, pp 31-32).

Such an alliance can be created only as a result of patient, daily and minute activities ("trench warfare") by the vanguard of the working class--the communist party--which is its "collective intellectual." The struggle within the framework of the capitalist system for seizing the tools of power and for hegemony, with a view to ensuring a revolutionary change from capitalism to socialism, is one of Gramsci's main concepts.

Today Gramsci's ideas on rallying the broad social forces for the sake of achieving progressive objectives become particularly important. Applied to modern global and universal practices, they can mean only one thing: the need to organize a broad, a truly historical association which can express the radical, the universal interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind. Such interests today are to ensure a nuclear-free peace on earth and to prevent a tragic, a final catastrophe.

The nature of the class struggle changes in the nuclear age. On the global level, this means, as was noted in the Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, that "Objective conditions have developed in which the confrontation between capitalism and socialism could take place only and exclusively as peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry."

It is obvious that within the individual countries as well the confrontation between antagonistic classes will take place above all under conditions of "trench" rather than "active" warfare and that a peaceful way to socialism, in the developed capitalist countries at least, is not only an opportunity favorable to the working people but an objective necessity. Naturally, changes in the nature of the current tasks and forms and conditions of the class struggle change neither its essence nor its final objectives. "...The war among classes," Engels noted, "takes place regardless of whether or not there are military operations under way and it does not always need barricades and bayonets; the war among classes will not abate as long as different classes exist with opposite and conflicting interests and with different social status...." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 8, p 238).

In studying the problems and ways of socialist reorganization of society, Gramsci paid great attention to the correlation among committed forces. The study of the situation arising in this connection and determining the levels of correlation among forces were, in his view, the foundations of political science and the art of politics, leading to an understanding of strategy, tactics, a strategic plan, propaganda, agitation and organization (see Antonio Gramsci, *op. cit.*, in 3 vols. *Inostrannaya Literatura*, vol 3, 1959, p 161).

In the study of a situation, Gramsci believed, one must begin with the correlation of international forces and then "convert to objective social relations, i.e., to the level of development of production forces and, after that, to political relations, to relations among parties...." (*Ibid.*, p 162).

Unquestionably, A. Gramsci noted, the development of international relations logically follows the development of fundamental social relations. On the other hand, however, "International relations have a both passive and active influence on political relations, on relations tied to party hegemony" (*ibid.*).

In other words, events in the domestic life of a given country, the domestic political situation and even a "party hegemony," i.e., the active impact of political forces, are closely linked and are in a state of interdependence with the international situation, with the correlation of forces in the world arena. It was somewhat later that on the basis of these postulates Gramsci drew the conclusion that the international situation should be considered not only in its national aspect. "Development leads to internationalism," although the starting point is "national" (*ibid.*, p 235). In emphasizing the need for the precise study and analysis of the correlation among national forces, Gramsci also noted that the leading class must guide the correlation among national forces and develop them in accordance with international prospects and requirements of international developments (*ibid.*, p 236).

This proves Gramsci's brilliant perspicacity. Like Marx and Lenin he realized that the development of his world leads to internationalization, to the growth of interdependence and a broadening of the historical process, with the increasingly active participants of the huge toiling masses in it.

"This," noted A. Natta, Italian Communist Party secretary general, "is yet another of Gramsci's basic intuitions, that of understanding, of detecting the trend of the huge historical process the impetus for which was the October Revolution" (*UNITA*, 18 January 1987).

The course of history and social progress and the growing internationalization of the contemporary world increasingly faced the communist movement with the demand for formulating a universal, a global concept of contemporary world developments, ranging from the national to the universal, the international. This idea, expressed by Gramsci, is consistent with the concept of unity and interdependence of the contemporary world as formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress. "The real dialectics of contemporary development is found in the combination of the competition and confrontation between the two systems and the growing trend toward interdependence among countries in the global community," M.S. Gorbachev noted in the Central Committee political reports to

the Party Congress. "It is precisely thus, through the struggle of opposites that with difficulty and, to a certain extent, blindly, the conflicting but interdependent and largely integral world develops."

The concept of oneness and interdependence of the contemporary world and the actual dialectics of global developments reformulated for the communist parties and, on a more general level, the leftist forces, the problems of international unity and correlation between the national and international tasks of the communist parties.

The main feature of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, as brilliantly proved by Gramsci, is its ability to adopt a new approach to new tasks and problems. Could there be any kind of gap between global international problems and the tasks facing the communist parties? Could there be any party or sociopolitical force which can solve national problems without considering and analyzing the global problems of contemporary development? We do not believe this to be possible.

"...Any new class," Marx wrote, "which replaces the previous ruling class needs, simply for the sake of achieving its objective, to present its interest as the common interest of all members of society, i.e., abstractly speaking, to present its thoughts as universal, as being the only sensible and universally significant ones" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 3, p 47).

The universal interests of mankind in the contemporary age are to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe and to ensure a durable peace. This is the prime, the global and immediate task. However, it is also the main task, the priority objective of the working class, which is the most progressive class of our time. Could it be considered accidental that the initiatives and suggestions of the CPSU aimed at creating a nuclear-free world and ensuring universal international security, are supported and shared not only by the working class, the communists and the leftist forces but also by the broadest possible strata of the progressive world public? Virtually all communist parties are now raising the slogan of the struggle for peace as a first and universal demand. At the same time they try to work and to learn how to work with other political social forces, to work for the sake of preserving and developing the universal common interests of mankind and see to it that this interest be realized by everyone or at least by the overwhelming majority.

Gramsci's political and theoretical legacy provides rich food for thought. The theories of the Italian revolutionary are beneficially influencing to this day above all the communist parties operating in the Western capitalist countries. Although not direct or automatic, the reflection of Gramsci's ideas may be traced, for example, in the struggle waged by the French communists for rallying a new national majority, a broad alliance of various social forces which have been victimized by the crisis in France. The same idea is the basis of the struggle waged by the Belgian communists for a broad alliance of progressive forces.

This is seen even more clearly in the Italian Communist Party. Under the influence of the ideological legacy of Marx, Lenin and Gramsci, and under the leadership of noted figures such as P. Togliatti, L. Longo and E. Berlinguer,

the ICP covered a long and difficult path, becoming a mass party of the working people, a nationwide force. By creatively applying Gramsci's method--the method of realistic analysis--the party successfully carried out the antifascist resistance, formulated the concept of the Italian way to socialism at its 8th Congress, in 1956, and undertook the search for new ways of formulating its political strategy and tactics, one of which is the concept of "historical compromise," which is original and still insufficiently analyzed, the contemporary policy of "democratic alternative," and some other features. Obviously, there were omissions, blunders and errors. However, one cannot progress and find new ways without learning from one's failures. This is the relevance of Gramsci's theory.

The contemporary world is changing by the day and by the hour. Now, in April of 1987, the communists in Western Europe are facing entirely new problems compared to last year, not to mention 10 years ago.

The neoconservative trends which became widespread by the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s in the United States and Western Europe, based on the postulates of "Reaganomics," and which seemed quite firm no more than 2 or 3 years ago, are in a state of crisis. The scientific and technical revolution and the growth of social contradictions are objectively leading the ruling circles in the Western European countries to look for new forms of government. The answer to these trends which the Western European communists will find under the new conditions will greatly determine the forms of "trench warfare," which is being fought without barricades and bayonets, as well as an approach to the solution of the fundamental problems which affect the global community. The best means of seeking such answers is the Marxist-Leninist method of objective analysis of reality, which was so extensively and successfully used by Gramsci in his theory and practice.

Gramsci's theory and aspiration to analyze the ways and future of the socialist revolution on a Marxist basis and his "socialist choice" under the specific conditions of the main Western capitalist countries provide a good example of a dialectical approach to the study of the new problems of social development. The profound study of Gramsci's work is an important element of the work of the communists aimed at eliminating a recent lag in the study of changing international and domestic situations and the new tasks which face the proletarian and democratic vanguard as a consequence of these changes.

Antonio Gramsci is our contemporary. He is nondogmatic in precisely the same way that Marx, Engels and Lenin are contemporary and nondogmatic. Gramsci's theoretical and political legacy is an inseparable part of the great Marxist-Leninist theory.

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ECOLOGY AND PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 110-117

[Article by Kim Nikolayevich Smirnov, IZVESTIYA deputy editor, science and technology department; notes from the Moscow international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind"]

[Text] An international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind" was held in Moscow on 14-16 February 1987. The forum plays a particular part in the restructuring of public awareness and the establishment of a new style of political thinking and the new universal priorities which are becoming a characteristic feature of our time. It is no accident that the world press described it as unprecedented for its openness, freedom and democratic expression of the various viewpoints with which the discussions at the forum were noted and for its participants: more than 1,000 people from over 80 countries, representing the true flower of spiritual life, intellect and culture of today's mankind, who discussed the practical steps needed so that, despite all contradictions and conflicts which are tearing the world apart, to achieve agreement and unity in the main feature: saving life on the planet earth. This was unanimously agreed upon by the scientists—physicians, natural scientists, and political and ecological experts; representatives of the business world and masters of culture and the arts; generals and religious personalities.

The appeal which was contained in M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the participants made a great impression on millions of people on all continents: "...The nuclear guillotine must be destroyed. The nuclear powers must cross from their nuclear shadow into a nuclear-free world and thus put an end to the alienation of politics from universal morality standards.

"The nuclear storm will sweep off socialists, capitalists, the just and the sinners. Is this situation moral? We, communists, believe that it is not."

The new international movement "Ecoforum for Peace" (its birth was reported by KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1986, pp 115-122) actively participated in this world meeting held in Moscow. The very appearance of this movement and the start of its active efforts and major initiatives aimed at worldwide public opinion indicate that ecologists were among the first to accept the new way of thinking. Every specialist is coming to it through the reality and problems

of his own profession and science. It is precisely ecology, which is rising today from strict professionalism to the interpretation of the interdependence between man and the biosphere as a whole, that provides a favorable base for this.

Speaking of scientists of world fame, the roundtable "Ecology and Peace" meeting was among the most representative at the Moscow forum. Added to the high reputation of these scientists in scientific circles is their special prestige as active participants in recent ecological "battles." Those attending the Moscow meeting included F. Gekvad (India), P. Knirsch (West Berlin), V. Labairie (France), W. Lowening (Great Britain), J. Opshoor (the Netherlands), D. Pitt (New Zealand), A. Westing (United States), Y. Fukushima (Japan) and others; scientists and specialists from Bulgaria, which is the homeland of the "Ecoforum for Peace," such as Academicians Kh. Khristov, N. Yakhiel, N. Bekhar and V. Neykov. The following scientists participated in the debates: Academicians P. Fedoseyev and A. Yanshin, vice presidents of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academicians B. Laskorin, N. Moiseyev, A. Obukhov and I. Petryanov-Sokolov, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Members V. Bolshakov, G. Galaziy, G. Zavarzin, V. Kovda, I. Frolov and A. Yablokov; UkSSR Academy of Sciences Academician A. Sozinov, VASKHNIL Corresponding Member Ye. Syroyechkovskiy, Professors E. Arab-Ogly, S. Yevteyev, R. Yanovskiy and others.

In the course of the debates, which lasted 2 days, a wide range of problems were outlined, related to the laws and consequences of the interaction between modern man and the biosphere, the risk of the self-destruction of life as a result of the arms race which leads to the precipice of nuclear war. Various solutions and approaches were submitted in the discussion of problems such as nuclear disarmament, which is an imperative in solving the global ecological problem; ways of converting from nature-polluting to low-waste and wasteless technologies; preservation and enrichment of the variety of life; role of scientists in shaping the new style of political thinking, ecological standards and awareness and ecological education and upbringing; and youth and environmental protection.

These problems were the focal point of attention of the participants in the discussion.

The term "quotation index" is used by scientists. The frequency with which a specific idea, theory or name is mentioned is proof of its relevance and priority to its contemporaries. More frequently than others the following were heard at the roundtable meeting: Vernadskiy, biosphere, noosphere and new style of thinking. This was no accident.

A. Yanshin, J. Opshoor, W. Lowening, N. Bekhar and other participants in the meeting profoundly analyzed the importance of V.I. Vernadskiy's concept of the unity between the biosphere and mankind in solving present global problems, above all safeguarding peace and preserving the ecological balance on earth. It was pointed out that in terms of its intellectual and technological power mankind has already approached a limit beyond which the biosphere turns into the noosphere, the area of the mind. Is mankind ready to take this step? Yes and no, the scientists answered. W. Lowening, who called

for approaching the problem from Vernadskiy's viewpoint, depicted a rather cheerless and alarming situation: "Today the 'sensible person' looks like an extraterrestrial. What is this strange, stupid, crazy outlook which leads man to self-destruction, which he has created and considers normal?" He spoke of the danger presented by the power of man, comparable to geological forces of the elements if used in pursuit of the arms race, rushing into ever new areas, from the depth of the ocean to outer space.

D. Pitt drew attention to the special role played by "nuclear-free zones." Today these are real ecological preserves in the world. Merging them within a single nuclear-free planet would turn the entire earth into a "preserve for peace."

And so, what will become of the earth: a globe of reason or a globe of madness? At the Moscow meeting these alternatives were subjected to sober scientific analysis. No single argument was found in contemporary science in favor of the latter. Indeed, it is precisely science which, more than the other forms of social awareness, could eliminate both nuclear war and its prologue—the arms race. Estimates prove that reducing military expenditures by no more than 20 percent would provide conditions for solving all global problems, including the ecological. Those same impartial computations prove that there is no future for mankind by following the "nuclear path." Inflexible mathematical models depict in the computer centers of the United States and the USSR the same picture of death of the planet, virtually coinciding even in details such as the area of the cold caused by the "nuclear winter."

What is the purpose of such studies? It was quite accurately defined by J. Opshoor: "The people have become accustomed to draw hindsight lessons for themselves, based on dramatic events and tragic experience. After a nuclear catastrophe, however, there will be no one to draw lessons. That is why we must learn how to anticipate experience and to gain it on the basis of likely future events."

At this point we reach the heart of the matter, from the ecological imperatives for peace, which were the topic of many statements and which became the scientific, the ideological foundation of the "Ecoforum for Peace." The present level of our knowledge allows us to draw a scientific, an integral picture of the biosphere in its unity with mankind and to determine the main ways of its growth into the noosphere. However, this means that we can already determine with scientific accuracy also the ways which in no case and under no circumstance do we have the right to follow, for they lead either to the precipice of nuclear war or to the dead end street of an ecological catastrophe. Such are the ecological imperatives. In defining them, science not only turns on the "red light" when faced with various dead end choices. Translated from the Latin, the word imperative means "command." The ecological imperatives of peace are a demand of our time. They order us to seek a solution to such dead ends, to find the way to reach one another, to agree and to develop reciprocal understanding.

Science and scientists, no less than politicians, diplomats and the military, are responsible for finding a timely way out not only from the dead end street

in which the arms race has taken mankind but also the ecological dead ends in which it is being taken, paradoxical though this might seem, by scientific and technical progress, if allowed to develop uncontrolled, and if it has not been inspired and humanized by ecological knowledge and guided by reason and responsibility. These topics were discussed by Kh. Khristov, A. Westing, P. Khirsch and many others.

The search for such ways is difficult. The simple truth that nature changes, both "naturally" and under human influence, has brought to life an entire range of interpretations: Are this influence and its results for good or for bad? Following are the most typical viewpoints:

E. Seppyanen (Finland): I think that we cannot improve on nature. Nature itself does not know what is good and bad, what is correct and what is incorrect. It is man who knows what is better and what is worse. Since we, people, are a very active force influencing nature, in the course of such influence we must be guided by serious ethical considerations and prohibitions, for we are not only the partners of nature but a very important part of it. It is only in this area that our activities could be rated as correct or incorrect.

V. Bolshakov: Some natural ecosystems or part of them adapt most adequately to our influence without lowering but even by increasing their productivity. On this level, the creation of artificial ecosystems which can withstand rather powerful anthropogenic pressure could be considered an improvement of the human environment. Let me cite as an example the development of new, man-made phytocenoses from mined-out dead areas, with entirely different natural features. They are significantly improving and enhancing the environment which was initially destroyed by man. The experience of recultivation in the Soviet Union of such lands over vast areas proves this quite adequately. I believe that, generally speaking, the enhancement and improvement of nature is entirely possible.

W. Lowening: The concept of improving nature is not part of my philosophy. Nature cannot be better or worse. It is nature. It is good as it is. But thank you, Professor Bolshakov, for the challenge hurled.

V. Labairie: It is senseless to argue whether nature is good or bad. It is splendid. It is splendid in its changes. Man will always change nature. However, in the course of such changes it must not be defaced. Such is the main problem of any technological interference in natural processes. This presumes developing an ecological awareness. To think nontechnocratically is another imperative of the time, for today man acts in great part on the basis of blind faith in technology and little thought for ecology. Man's material needs are tremendous and our knowledge of natural processes, compared with what we should have already known, is incomparably small. It is no accident that our production processes so poorly coexist with natural ones. I frequently cite to my students the following case: in nature the exchange of energy is quite economical; meanwhile, in the United States, 50 percent of the generated energy is wasted. Other countries are no less profligate.

Some speakers said that mankind, having become the most powerful geological force, should be cautioned against its own self. Others claimed that it is precisely the spiritual nature of this power, channeled into good purposes, could improve life, nature and man.

This was not an abstract, a general philosophical debate, for speakers at the roundtable presented alarming proof from scientific laboratories in different countries. For example, in the opinion of a number of scientists a further increase in the emission of carbon dioxide can change the path of cyclones. Deserts located near tropical zones will become even worse. In our hemisphere, north of the Kharkov latitude, in the next decade, with certain fluctuations, the amount of precipitation will steadily increase. The majority of rivers in Europe and in other continents are already sewer waters containing various amounts of concentrations of harmful chemicals. Tropical forests are being mercilessly cut.

W. Lowening compared the world around us to a gigantic tropical forest with its own ecosystem and biosphere which, in principle, could develop and self-reproduce without decay. Man could take from it for his own living needs everything he needs, maintaining both it and his own life. Instead, he simply begins to remove the lungs of his planet. And, as Plato said, the trees go away.

For the time being, no more than 1 percent of all raw materials extracted by mankind is put to use; 99 percent becomes waste, a distorted product alien to nature and polluting the environment. The type of danger that this presents for the immediate future is easy to imagine if we consider the following: each 8 to 10 years the volume of industrial output on earth doubles. On this subject I. Petryanov-Sokolov noted the following: I will soon turn 80. This means that during my lifetime industrial output has increased more than 1,000 times. There has been a corresponding increase in pollution. In my childhood the river was absolutely clean. Today one can no longer drink its water. That is what a 1,000 time increase in pollution means!

The pollution itself is not even. Many developing countries are turning into dumps for the capitalist monopolies. One may think that, having become independent and taken the path of scientific progress later than other countries, they could take into consideration existing negative experience and make their production process cleaner. Nonetheless, the forces of neocolonialism and the big international corporations not only do everything possible to keep the third world countries as their raw material appendages but also export to them their most polluting industries. Not so long ago, for example, one could read in advertising brochures the following: "Industrialists! We invite you to Brazil. There are no environmental protection laws here."

It is not a question merely of polluting the environment with waste. Space research methods allow us quantitatively to outline "heat pollution" as well. For example, a difference of 6-8 degrees centigrade in temperature may be noted in the Autumn between the Baltimore agglomeration in the United States (a merger of several cities) and its environs. Similar "hot islands" can be noted from outer space coming from the Philadelphia, Ruhr, and Tokyo

agglomerations. The heat wasted by electric power plants in our country alone could heat 300,000 hectares in greenhouses.

As we read such statistical figures, fears generated by "plastic operations" which distort the face of the planet appear neither abstract nor naive. Indeed, would it not be better to leave nature alone and allow it to develop according to its own laws? The trouble is, however, that as it changes in its interaction with society, nature is precisely developing according to its own laws. It would be senseless and unrealistic to remove mankind from the biosphere, and to distance ourselves from its needs and requirements, which are met in the course of its interaction with nature. This view has been shared by many. Open calls for "back to nature!" were not heard at the forum. However, there were arguments as to how and where to advance.

Despite the availability of full and sober information proving that nuclear power remains ecologically the cleanest, the Chernobyl tragedy was once again the topic of arguments as to the methods through which civilization could be supplied with energy.

For example, P. Knirsch claimed that today nuclear power is harmful to mankind, although it is not excluded that in the future its generating and consumption may become absolutely safe. In his view, governments and scientific and industrial circles related to the nuclear power industry are so persistently trying to convince the population of its absolute safety as of now that unwittingly the suspicion arises: is this indeed the case? In any case, we must find new forms of utilization of energy which would be economically justified and, at the same time, safe.

The majority of the participants, however, had a different opinion: the use of nuclear and, subsequently, thermonuclear energy provides such an inexhaustible and ecologically clean source that mankind would be unable to find any other solution in solving its global problems for the next 100 or even 1,000 years. A strictly scientific substantiation of this point of view was provided at the roundtable meeting by Kh. Khristov, the noted specialist in the field of nuclear power industry.

In general, this was a typical feature of the ecological meeting in Moscow: a thorough consideration of even the most far-sighted and impressive models and forecasts: are they supported today by the real condition of science, technology and economics? In some cases, however, scientific sobriety of assessments turned into a skeptical attitude. Those who called for developing waste-free industrial technologies, E. Seppyanen claimed, are idealizing the situation. In the final account, the materials which we use in industry will never turn into the raw materials we used at the very beginning. This would be absolutely ideal. But what is the situation in reality? In reality, waste is as much an end product of our industry as a commodity.

B. Laskorin disagreed. The present situation with waste must not be considered as something given once and for all. In analyzing the interaction and the recycling of animate and inanimate matter in nature, Vernadskiy gave scientists, technologists and engineers an essentially perfect model of waste-free technology. From his viewpoint, the biosphere can be considered a

gigantic photosynthetic factory operating on the principle of waste-free industry. As we know, the green cover on our planet consumes no more than 0.2 percent of solar radiation which falls on the earth's surface. However, this "green factory" produces 100 billion tons of organic mass and releases about 100 billion tons of oxygen daily.

It was on the basis of this model that scientists in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries developed a concept of waste-free technology. It can help us to eliminate in the future the antagonism between production and nature, make efficient use of natural resources and practically refute the concept of the limits of growth, i.e., of limiting human needs.

Waste is not an inevitable result of industry, its end product. It is only the result of the imperfect, the backward nature of industry, its semi-finished product, so to so. If we trace the history of any technology, we could easily see that what people may have considered waste in the past became exceptionally valuable raw material with new technological processes. The same fate awaits most of today's waste.

However, it is not simply a matter of new nature-protecting technologies. They themselves are part of the new technological culture which must essentially become ecological. It is as yet to be developed. How does one see the world of tomorrow in which social consciousness will be dominated by considerations related to the biosphere and noosphere? Different such concepts exist.

E. Arak'gly, who argued in favor of his concept of a "preferred world" as an important step and a binding link between a real and an ideal world order, noted in this connection the existence of conflicting views. Some strive for nature in a virginal state; others would like a world in which nature has been transformed and improved by man. Some people wish for an ecologically ideal world, without nuclear power plants; others are in favor of them. Instead of speaking of such an ideal world order—the harmony between man and nature—we should try to agree on the question of a world preferable from the ecological viewpoint in which no irreversible ecological changes would occur and in which we would first stabilize and then reduce environmental pollution although some would remain. It would make sense to formulate a concept of a preferable ecological world from the viewpoint of international relations, the new world economic order and social relations.

Already now one could speculatively enter such a preferred ecological world. However, although mankind had reached such truths theoretically decades ago, their dissemination is still hindered by the old stereotypes of thought and action, which convert scientific and technical progress into the destroyer of nature. The durability of such stereotypes is helped by the existing global economy which is still based on technologies which pollute the environment with production waste.

Therefore, as A. Bonneta (FRG) believes, before shifting problems of environmental protection to the areas of morality, upbringing and education, we must solve them in the area of economics. The degradation of the

environment can be prevented through economic means. In this case moral factors will play a much smaller role compared to economic laws.

It is true, obviously, that without economic levers, without engineering methods and waste-free technologies, no ecological principles can be applied in social life, in industry above all. However, the demand for extensive knowledge and "insistence" on moral responsibility are directly related to this.

It is no accident that problems of ecological awareness, standards, education and upbringing and their links with the moral foundations of civilization were discussed extensively by A. Westing, N. Moiseyev, W. Lowening, Y. Fukushima, F. Gekvad, G. Galaziy and others.

Some of the reasons which have lead to the confrontation between man and his environment are ecological ignorance, lack of understanding, lack of information both on the part of the broad public and those who are responsible for making economic and scientific and technical policy and industrial projects, particularly those which affect animate matter. We apply to our biogenic systems (agriculture, reclamation, forestry) purely engineering concepts and methods which have developed in the metallurgical, chemical and construction industries.

Currently, between 15,000 and 18,000 works on ecology are being published throughout the world every year. Such a flood of information is more than adequate to eliminate ecological ignorance in mankind. However, it essentially reaches narrowly specialized individuals and virtually bypasses people who decide the outcome of new engineering projects and new technologies.

This correlation must be changed and most such information should be directed to the areas in which production planning, management and economy are formulated. Above all, it must provide an ecological guideline for the entire public education and upbringing system. According to A. Yablokov, ecological imperatives will begin to operate to their fullest extent only after they have become moral imperatives.

Ecological education and upbringing, Japanese scientist Y. Fukushima believes, must begin in early childhood. In the case of his country, it would be quite important to combine them with education in a spirit of peace and of remembrance of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I asked Professor Fukushima: "Combining the struggle for peace and against the degradation of the environment is an objective need. However, different people and different human communities become aware of this at different times. Apparently, the people of Japan, who were the first to be burned by the nuclear flames, were the first to achieve an awareness of this unity."

His answer was that the combination of antiwar and ecological awareness is not simple to develop. This process is hindered by "current" economic and political factors. Naturally, the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has never stopped being painful to Japan. However, during the first decade after the war and under American occupation, this was a forbidden topic. Subsequently,

the sharp economic leap countered the shaping of an ecological awareness. It is only now that the nation is reaching the state of unity embodied in the ideas of the "Ecoforum for Peace." Y. Fukushima, in particular, interprets as a specific feature of this unity the sharp protest voiced by physicists from Japan and other countries to the American so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI).

It is terrible to imagine the results of the ignorant use of the power of civilization. In the case of a nuclear war this is obvious. However, the accelerating degradation of nature under the influence of man is another kind of "ecological bomb," but with a delayed action. That is why knowledge of this subject must be acquired by millions and millions of people. New methods in ecological information and propaganda must be used, from printed publications to television. That is how the scientists formulate the question.

V. Labairie suggested that technological secrecy be lifted from relations among nations: the ecological approach is incompatible with the military approach. Wherever a military approach is adopted there is always secrecy. The population has the right to be informed. It must be given the right to participate in shaping its technological future. As a citizen, I would like to be offered a variety of choices and informed of all opportunities. I would like to make the choice myself (he described this as "technological democracy").

The idea of lifting secrecy may appear naive in a world in which military and commercial secrets remain. Indeed, it would be naive to assume that various countries would immediately abandon their state and, the corporations, their company secrets. However, nor should we ignore the following: even in the area of the latest and supersecret armaments, a secret quite quickly becomes open. All new discoveries are based on contemporary knowledge of mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology. That which has been discovered today by scientists in one country will be discovered by researchers from another country as a result of the very logic and methods applied in scientific work.

The idea of open laboratories unrelated to military or commercial secrecy and oriented toward the solution of problems of all mankind was born at the Moscow forum. This would mean laboratories engaged in extensive international cooperation. A special fund would be set up to finance them. The hope was expressed that this new sector would expand and by the year 2000 would encompass the entire worldwide science.

The following discussion took place at the roundtable meeting:

N. Yakhiel: Man is destroying animate nature so actively that there is the threat that in the immediate future man will become the only species on earth.

F. Gekvad: What I fear is the opposite, that man may disappear earlier than other species. Homo sapiens is a dying species. I am a member of it. I am being hunted. I am being poisoned by the chemical industry. So many nuclear warheads have been prepared for use against me that they would be probably sufficient to destroy the entire solar system.

Yes, perhaps the palette of life may be losing its best colors. All ecological problems are based on genetics. When the harmful effect of our economic activities begins to reach the genetic apparatus of plants, animals and people, and when dangerous changes would occur under the influence of chemical and other mutagens, the alarm signal begins to flash on the panel of life, for the genetic pollution of the planet is more dangerous than any other. Such were the opening remarks of A. Sozinov.

Genetic engineering already has the possibility of creating plants and even new animal species. In this case, however, it is very important to combine the efforts of geneticists, ecologists and other specialists in protecting from pollution and destruction and preserving the genetic stock of the planet, the genetic variety of life. This is a long-range trend in international efforts. In his time, N. Vavilov undertook to do this with his famous world collection of cultivated plants.

No more than 1.5 of the 12 million types of plants and animals found in the earth's biosphere have been studied somewhat. How many species could disappear before we even know that they needed our protection! Yet not a single one should be lost, not only because tomorrow's selectioners may need a great variety of genetic starting material, including animals and plants which are today considered useless and even harmful. The more complex the ecological system is and the richer and more varied its life forms, the more durable it is. The disappearance of even a single species breaks the existing links and sometimes creates the type of violent and alarming consequences which could act as a delayed-action mine, unexpectedly and destructively.

A great deal was said on the subject of the loss of variety in life and the genetic "untouchable reserve." However, N. Moiseyev gave in his speech an unusual twist to this topic traditional to any group of ecologists or geneticists: we must speak of preserving not only the genetic but all other varieties--cultural and technical. The development of any new technology inevitably deprives the people of previously acquired useful knowledge. The secrets of forging Damascus steel, making some types of dies, and the knowledge of Northern and Eastern peoples, which allowed us to maintain the stability of the ecological system, have been lost. A future robotization could bring about the loss of labor skills of great importance to man. All this should be considered, for variety has always been a protection from various vicissitudes.

The world is exceptionally varied. This is the luck of mankind. The new way of thinking is related to an acknowledgment of the existence of a multiplicity of cultures and outlooks. Perhaps we should begin with this, with respect for the variety of views and viewpoints on the world which, naturally, does not exclude the open and straight assertion of one's views and ideals.

What is this type of new thinking which was mentioned by virtually all speakers?

According to I. Frolov, it is the following: the new style of political thinking is based on two aspects. The first is the concept that the contemporary world is conflicting and split into opposite socioeconomic

systems but is also interdependent and integral. In this sense we can speak of a single global civilization, of mankind, of the human species. The second is the idea that human values have priority over all others when it becomes a question of whether or not mankind will survive. This does not mean in the least that we are abandoning our ideals or ideology and class positions. On the contrary, we emphasize profound dialectical interconnection between them and universal values.

If we read closely the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress from this viewpoint and look at the initiatives implemented by our state, starting with M.S. Gorbachev's familiar 15 January 1986 statement, the Soviet proposals submitted at Reykjavik, and so on, we would see that they are quite logically interrelated and are based on a firm, thought-out profoundly conceptual base.

The new style of thinking also presumes a new, a higher level of reciprocal trust. Without abandoning our way of life and thinking, each of the sides should nevertheless throw bridges of reciprocal understanding to the other side, for the sake of saving the planet from nuclear suicide and the degradation of nature. This was the dominant topic of the ecologists and of the entire Moscow forum. However, building such bridges is no simple matter.

According to P. Knirsch, since reciprocal mistrust has been cultivated for decades, the Soviet side should make a great effort so that all Western population strata may trust the sincerity of its new approaches.

Such steps should be reciprocal, I. Frolov answered, although our country has greater reasons to show mistrust. Naturally, people who have experienced a terrible and destructive war, who have had so many difficulties as a result of a treacherous attack, people who lost 20 million lives, have retained feelings of caution and particular concern for their security. As the Pentagon's recently published plans which include specific deadlines and estimates as to when and where to strike targets in the Soviet Union with nuclear warheads indicate, such feelings are not groundless.

All the facts and the entire history of the postwar decades, particularly of recent years, indicate that we did not have nor do we have now any reason to increase the arms race and that throughout this time the Soviet side has taken only responsive steps which would ensure security and parity of strength. We want peace. We are engaged in constructive activities. This is clearly confirmed by the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which adopted a program which will enable socialist society to reach a qualitatively new state, a program entirely consistent with the doctrine of Marx and Lenin.

Yes, the roads leading to a new way of thinking are not simple and not always direct. It is not astounding that the participants in the meeting interpreted it differently. In the final account, however, everyone agreed that "a new style of thinking" means the ability to think by taking into consideration the interests of all mankind and its unity. This means an awareness that mankind can no longer develop without an ecological approach to scientific and technical progress in all areas of life, from economics to social awareness

and culture. Finally, this means the need to eliminate nuclear war from the life of mankind once and for all.

A great deal, if not everything, depends now on which process will develop faster: the arms race, which is taking mankind to the brink of the precipice, or the comprehensive establishment of a new style of thinking on the planet, which could anticipate the danger and prevent the doom.

This awareness is embodied in specific steps aimed at organizing international cooperation in a great variety of areas and in a growing number of constructive initiatives. Justifiably, ecologists play a major part in this.

While the Moscow forum was taking place, a meeting was held by the board of the Ecoforum for Peace movement. F. Gekvad (India) was made member of the board; V. Neykov (Bulgaria) was appointed general secretary of the movement. The board resolved that one of the practical steps to be taken by the "Ecoforum for Peace" will be a meeting of scientists to discuss the complex problem of the Danube, which affects the interests of eight countries whose territories cover more than one half of Europe and which is directly related to the ecological fate of the Balkans and the Black Sea. This meeting may be a "floating" one, conducted aboard a ship plying the Danube. The Ecoforum for Peace is planning to issue a publication and conduct research, hold general meetings and plenary conferences on "The Noosphere--an Alternative to Militarized Society," "Ecology and Values," "Ecology and International Cooperation," and others.

The forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and for the Survival of Mankind" became a new source of reason, encompassing within it all that is best, most democratic and humane gained by mankind in the course of the millennia of its history which brought it to the 20th century.

In his address to the participants in the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev accurately characterized its significance: "Not only the progress of mankind but simply its survival depend on whether or not we shall find in ourselves the necessary strength and courage to surmount the dangers concealed within the contemporary world.

"I believe that there are reasons to hope for this. The latest decades have been noted by the fact that, for the first time in its history, it is mankind and not some of its representatives, who is beginning to consider itself a single entity and to see the global interconnection among man, society and nature and to assess the consequences of the scale of its material activities.

"Not only has mankind become aware but a struggle has developed to lift the nuclear threat. One cannot deny that this struggle has already turned into a great moral and political school in which the mass of the people, entire nations, are learning the difficult yet necessary art of living together in this world, balancing common against private interests, looking boldly and honestly the present and the future in the eyes, and comprehend it and, having done so, draw conclusions for practical use. Your forum is one of the proofs of this."

Many of its participants highly rated the work of the Moscow forum. In summing up the results of the roundtable meetings of ecologists, V. Neykov, editor in chief of the Bulgarian journal ZASHTITA NA PRIRODATA said at the Kremlin meeting: allow me... to express my gratitude for the excellent conditions provided for a free and creative discussion. We discussed two of the most serious problems of our time: environmental protection and safeguarding peace on earth. In both cases it is a question of preserving and protecting life on earth from doom, regardless of whether it would be nuclear or ecological, lightning or slow. The struggle for a clean nature is an inseparable component of the struggle for peace and the survival of mankind.

The American scientist A. Westing who, at the beginning of the forum, called upon everyone to debate without losing track of the main guidelines--the salvation of the world, nature and love--expressed at the end of the discussions his impression from the meeting with a single word: "Admirable!"

I thank you, said Netherlands Professor J. Opshoor, director of the Institute for Ecological Research, for the spirit of openness and candor. I am pleased with those interesting discussions. Naturally, this has to do with the fact that many of us have known each other for a long time. However, it is also related to the new wind blowing today in Moscow. It tells us in what direction to move.

It was after the forum that letters from many participants in the roundtable meeting were received. Professor D. Pitt, who works for the International Association for the Protection of Nature and Natural Resources, described the Moscow meeting as a historical event which gave food for new thoughts and ideas. Gratitude to the Soviet government for the outstanding organization of the meeting was voiced by F. Gekvad, president of the World Wild Nature Fund. Here is an excerpt from the letter by professor P. Knirsch, West Berlin Free University: "I thank you warmly for your invitation to participate in the work of the peace forum and for the frank and business-like discussion.... I am convinced that reciprocal understanding could lead to progress if we exchange views honestly and frankly."

The forum adopted no final documents, as though emphasizing that this roundtable discussion has not ended and will be continued in thousands of halls throughout the world and that henceforth the entire planet must become a single roundtable meeting. It is no accident that both at the forum and immediately after it wishes were expressed to hold meetings in other countries and to hold such world encounters regularly, making them a tradition.

Soon after the end of the forum the first practical step was taken in implementing the ideas suggested at the Moscow of creating open laboratories as a new form of international cooperation among scientists in peaceful research programs. The Soviet branch of the "world laboratory" was inaugurated. The ceremony was attended by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, G. Andreotti, Italian foreign affairs minister, G.I. Marchuk, academician, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician Ye.P. Velikhov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Italian Professor A. (Dzikiki), and noted Italian and Soviet scientists. The scientific and technical cooperation

between our two countries in the fields of information, biology, and physics and the creation of training-method materials will constitute the starting point for the Soviet branch of the "world laboratory."

Now, when the Moscow forum is history, we can realize with particular clarity the importance of the fact that the best minds and hearts of contemporary mankind, despite dividing boundaries, conceptual views, beliefs, political outlook and mountains of prejudices which have been erected in today's world between countries and states, met and looked each other in the eyes with trust. The forum became a truly universal open laboratory in which representatives of different countries and nations looked at the future and discussed how to build a world aimed at a future without wars.

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LENIN IN MIKHAIL KOLTISOV'S WORKS

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[Review by S. Yakovleva of the book "Izbrannoye" [Selected Works] by Mikhail Koltsov. Pravda, Moscow, 1985, 624 pp]

[Text] "Even his enemies see Lenin as a man from the future, a pioneer in the world of attained communism, a world which sooner or later, delayed or not, is bound to come" (p 30). These lines, imbued with faith in the immortal nature of Lenin's accomplishments, belong to Mikhail Koltsov (1898-1942), an ardent master of prose and one of the founders of Soviet journalism. They are the splendid leitmotif of all his stories about Lenin, such as "Man from the Future," "The Final Trip," "Wife. Sister," "January Days," "As Instructed by the Director," and "Lenin's Soldiers," which are part of a collection of selected works by Koltsov, reprinted for the first time in nearly 3 decades. The book also includes other works written at different times, which earned him universal acknowledgment and fame. These works were carefully selected and prepared for publication by Boris Yefimov, the noted Soviet cartoonist and younger brother of the publicist.

Reading this book one unwittingly recalls Koltsov's words: "One can study the history of class and political struggle the individual stages in political and other journalism...." The political journalism included in this collection is the best proof of this statement. It is a living, a pulsating testimony of an eyewitness and participant in the great historical events, from the Great October Revolution to the international exploits of Soviet people in Spain.

The core of the book, however, is the topic of Lenin. It is its main aesthetic, historical and philosophical value.

The essay "Man from the Future," was written by Koltsov in 1923, during Lenin's lifetime. It is a work of extraordinary artistic power. The voice of the author in it is that of the people. Each line here is imbued with the light and depth of feelings for the most human of the sons of Russia, whose life was the greatest of exploits and the greatest of victories. In depicting the leader, Koltsov proceeds from the Marxist understanding of the role of the individual in history. "Lenin is the most complex and most refined machinery serving the proletariat in its historical mission. That is why his personality is so threatening to the enemies and that is why it is so much

part of the working class and that is why the proletariat felt physically sick when Lenin was sick" (p 23). In this essay the topic of the leader is entirely linked to that of the party and the people. "Try to consider Lenin separately. You may try until you are blue in the face and you will fail. No one can tell you where the private Lenin ends and where his family--the party--begins; this is as difficult to determine as where the party ends and the proletariat begins" (Ibid.). In Koltsov's view Lenin's brilliance is rests in the fact that he as able to encompass the gigantic forces of the people and channel them into the struggle for the victory of the revolution. No, "Lenin's theory did not come from the skies. This means that all of Lenin's works and all that was brought into motion on earth with these works pivots around a human life" (p 28). This life was the life of Lenin, the ordinary and, at the same time the extraordinary person, looking like all the rest of us yet entirely different, both accessible and inaccessible.

Koltsov depicts Vladimir Ilich not only as the leader of a party of a new type but also as a man of the new world. That is why "inseparable from Lenin is Vladimir Ulyanov--alive, eternally active, open, communicative, witty and, above all, fully accessible to and understandable by those around him" (p 28).

A number of examples in the essay describe the great insurmountable vital strength of Lenin's humanism, his infinite love of people and his heartfelt concern for them. Koltsov emphasizes that "in order to be a good Leninist in politics it would be proper to be a good Ulyanov in life" (p 29). He calls for emulating Lenin, for using one's best features, for Lenin the person is as great as Lenin the politician. He is an "impeccable soldier for world justice," Koltsov wrote in conclusion. "A man from the future, a hostage of the world of the future in our turbulent age..." (p 30).

The numerous features and shades with which Mikhail Koltsov has painted the image of Lenin the leader, before history knew him as such, and the man of future, are found in other of his publicistic, vivid and maximally saturated works included in the collection. They help us to touch the soul of this precious character as depicted by a talented artist and noted communist. This is an original work, for no one has ever been able to write like Koltsov, for the true talent of an artist is as unique as his personality.

The Soviet readers highly rate the works of Mikhail Koltsov. This is confirmed by the fact that his new book, which was issued in a huge edition of 500,000 copies, was bought out in a few days. We need Koltsov. He is our interlocutor. His thoughts are consistent with our time, a time of great changes, of the restructuring taking place in the country. He remains a mandatory participant in the struggle for the beautiful ideals of the future.

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THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF RESTRUCTURING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 119-122

[Review by V. Kamayev, doctor of economic sciences, professor, of the following books: "Yedinyy Narodnokhozyaystvennyy Kompleks: Soderzhaniye i Zakonomernosti Razvitiya" [Unified National Economic Complex: Content and Laws of Development]. Edited by V.G. Lebedev et al. Mysl, Moscow, 1985, 271 pp; "Proizvodstvennyye Otnosheniya Sotsializma (Sistema, Kriterii Zrelosti i Puti Sovershenstvovaniya)" [Socialist Production Relations (System of Criteria, Maturity and Ways of Advancement)]. Editors: L.I. Abalkin and V.V. Tsakunov. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 342 pp; and "Vzaimodeystviye Ekonomiki, Politiki i Upravleniya" [Interaction Among Economics, Politics and Management]. Mysl, Moscow, 1985, 294 pp]

[Text] The radical reform of the entire system of national economic management plays a decisive role in the overall set of means of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The development of various aspects of its restructuring is today the focal point of attention of the science of economics. The books under review are efforts to bring to light the essential components of this problem.

The first of the three is that of the unified national economic complex as a historically defined level of functioning and development of production forces and production socialization actually achieved by socialism. Essentially, it is the starting point for the study of production relations and their advancement, found in the second work. Finally, the third monograph discusses specific economic, social and other problems of ensuring quality improvements in national economic management. The works were written by scientific collectives of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, departments of economics and organization and production, political economy and management of socioeconomic processes.

One of the features of the monographs is that they constitute a single study, scientifically interpreting problems of acceleration of Soviet socioeconomic progress. The main idea, argued by scientists from various viewpoints, is the need for drastically upgrading the efficiency of economic management during the turning points in the socioeconomic development of society. We may note in this connection that although these works were essentially written before the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and before the actual results of

economic experiments were summed up, many of the authors' theoretical conclusions and practical recommendations passed the test of practical experience of the initial stage in the reorganization of socialist economic management. This applies above all to the principle of the comprehensive radical restructuring of the economic mechanism. In our view, another quality of these works is the formulation, in their totality, of sharply debatable concepts which force the reader to consider and interpret changes occurring in the national economy.

One of the topics the depth and scale of consideration of which by its authors leaves a feeling of dissatisfaction is that of the scientific and technical revolution. Naturally, it would be unfair to say that in the study of the unified national economic complex perfecting production relations and systems for controlling the revolutionary progress in science and technology are ignored. However, in a number of cases we come across the now traditional "consideration" of the scientific and technical revolution but not its analysis as the real foundation for the acceleration of socioeconomic growth, which has a decisive impact on all aspects of social development.

The concept of a new stage in the scientific and technical revolution, related to the establishment of a contemporary type of automated machine systems--flexible production systems--is becoming universally acknowledged. Such systems embody the scientific-production principle of the integration among technological processes and, in the final account, ensures the possibility and efficiency of a fast transition to the production of new items. The use of such equipment requires new forms of production organization and ways and means of their control, as well as a drastic intensification of cost accounting. The current stage in the scientific and technical revolution is also related to a different trend in correlating labor with material outlays and the dynamics of a number of national economic proportions. It also means a qualitatively new level reached in socialization, etc. The profound study of all such processes would have enabled the authors to provide a significantly stronger substantiation of the changes occurring in the technical-economic and socioeconomic aspect of socialist production. However, in monographs dealing with a unified national economic complex, problems of updating the material and technical foundations for socialism are presented too abstractly and traditionally, unrelated to many real components of the development of science and production.

One of the most relevant problems of economic theory and economic practice today, as included in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, is that of the conflicting interaction between production forces and production relations. In principle, suggestions on the optimal management of such interaction may be found in all three works, particularly in "Proizvodstvennyye Otnosheniya..." and "Vzaimodeystviye Ekonomiki..." In this area the study is of definite interest. It nonetheless remains one-sided for the following reason:

The Academy of Social Sciences scientists particularly and almost exclusively emphasize so-called "negative" contradictions which must be eliminated more promptly and efficiently. Nonetheless, these are by no means all contradictions within socialism (resulting from errors and omissions in management). There also are contradictions which are inherent in socialism

and which, in the course of the functioning and development of the economy are reproduced "in spirals," and must be solved on a steady planned basis. The ways, means and methods of solving these two groups of contradictions--the "negative" and the inherent--are radically different. It is exceptionally important to take this into consideration in formulating the trends in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Thus, the absence of proper balancing is a major shortcoming of our economy and should be eliminated. The contradiction between the needs of society and the possibilities of material production facilities is constant and inherent in socialism. It develops and encourages us to perfect production forces and production relations.

The first four chapters of "Proizvodstvennyye Otnosheniya..." are an effort to develop the methodological principles of the study of production relations as a system and their improvement at the present stage. The subject is well presented in the third chapter on the subject of such relations and their economic interests. The reader, whether a scientific worker, economic manager or propagandist, will find here a great deal of new information. However, a number of most relevant problems have not been convincingly presented. Under the conditions of acceleration, substantiated answers to the following questions are vitally important: What specifically must be restructured in production relations, how to do this and who should do it? We already pointed out that the studies were essentially conducted prior to the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, the documents of which, as we know, provided the essential answers to these questions. However, we do not find a sufficiently firm base for the development of such problems in the books under review. Today, however, we have the right to demand of large and highly skilled scientific collectives a projecting interpretation of imminent problems of economic theory and practice. It is only thus that political economy will be able to implement its role as a truly theoretical foundation for the party's economic strategy.

We consider useful the following methodological interpretation of the criteria of maturity of socialist production relations: "...the extent to which their internal content is brought to light,...the development and wealth of specific forms of their manifestation and their consistency (adequacy) with the profound essence of production relations" ("Proizvodstvennyye Otnosheniya...", p 33). In expanding this concept, the authors formulate more specific criteria: a. Ensuring the integrality of the system of production relations (from the viewpoint of the homogeneity and similarity of the socioeconomic content of their individual groups); b. Providing opportunities for the manifestation of the historical advantages and possibilities of socialism and of the functioning of its specific economic laws; c. Increasing the maturity of the public ownership of means of production and shaping an efficient mechanism for its economic implementation. The following three features have been singled out in the description of the level of production forces which ensures the greater maturity of production relations: the comprehensive utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution; reaching a high global level of labor productivity, production quality and production efficiency; laying material foundations for the full satisfaction of the need for food, goods in mass demand and housing for all population groups based on scientific standards (see pp 36-38).

However, these criteria for the periodization of production relations (levels of maturity) have not been consistently and specifically observed subsequently. This applies, for instance, to the second section of chapter 2, in which the nationwide ownership of means of production and forms of its implementation are studied. The chapter deals extensively with methodological considerations concerning the concept of "appropriation" and other topics which are not new in economic publications.

Commodity-monetary relations under socialism and their utilization are the most important subjects of the first section of chapter 2 of the book on production relations. Accurately noting that the fuller utilization of commodity-monetary relations "should be properly balanced with the direct social nature of socialist production and should serve the strengthening rather than loosening of its general communist principles," (p 50). The author of this section also directly rejects the use of such relations as consistent with their relatively independent specific content, which are mandatorily related to the elements of a real socioeconomic identification of the primary units within a socialist economy. In other words, they are unrelated to the relative independence of the circulation of capital in the basic production unit and its economic activities, caused by the incomplete direct social nature of labor under socialism. Such separation is described as "so-called" "appearance" (pp 46, 48). Such a theoretical view could hardly contribute to the solution of the problem of surmounting the prejudice against commodity-monetary relations and the law of value and conversion to total cost accounting and self-financing. In this case, in our view, the viewpoint has failed the test of reality.

One of the ideas which runs throughout the study is the possibility and need of variety and dynamism in the forms of realization and manifestation of socialist ownership. In this connection, an interesting study is provided of the economic activities of enterprises (associations) as the basic production unit of the national economy, the functioning and development of which accounts for a substantial extent of the exercise of the public ownership of means of production. Thus, we consider beneficial the concept that "the association was able to satisfy a certain end social requirement (including assembling, repairing and providing technical services)" and the expediency "if necessary to allow the establishment of temporary production associations, scientific-production associations above all, on a nondepartmental contractual basis, with a view to the fastest and maximally efficient solution of specific scientific and technical and design problems" ("Vzaimodeystviye Ekonomiki...", pp 127-128). Unfortunately, the ideas expressed in this section were not extensively developed in the book. We believe that the author should have posed the following questions: first, the question of organizing within our national economy (wherever efficient) a system for leasing equipment, which is partially being done in the case of instruments and apparatus for scientific purposes; second, the question of the experimental testing of suggestions concerning temporary and permanent enterprises (production and scientific-production associations) operating on a contractual basis. The history of the Soviet national economy is familiar with such formations (syndicates, shareholding companies). The experience in managing them, which was acquired in the first decade of the Soviet system, must be profoundly interpreted today and creatively used in accordance with contemporary conditions.

The book on the interaction among economics, politics and management formulates the idea of a basic production unit of a new type: "Clearly, it would be expedient in the future to convert to the basic economic unit of a new type, which will be an intersectorial organizational complex and which will ensure the integration among various areas of economic activities with a view to achieving the best possible end results" (p 97). Naturally, one could question whether the main unit in all economic sectors will be intersectorial. In this case, however, the authors have been able to predict the most essential feature: the integration among various areas of economic activities in the primary unit, with a view to maximizing end results. One can only regret that, once again, in this monograph the idea has not been sufficiently developed. Today this is vitally necessary above all from the viewpoint of forecasting the consequences (for the entire economic mechanism) of the implementation of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

Quite properly, all three works have paid great attention to perfecting planning. This is justifiably considered the most important advantage of our socioeconomic system and a key means of implementing the principle of socialist ownership. In this connection, questions arise without the answer to which no radical improvement in any planning work is possible. They could be formulated as follows: What should be planned, and on what level; who precisely (what economic authority) should do the planning in order to ensure the highest possible efficiency and the production of goods on the highest world standards in the necessary amounts? One cannot say that the authors have totally ignored such questions, for some interesting approaches may be found, particularly in the seventh chapter of "Vzaimodeystviye Ekonomiki...." Nonetheless, the problems are not clearly explained.

The books under review describe various forms of upgrading the creative activeness of the working people, including socialist competition, as a motive factor of acceleration and restructuring. We believe that on the theoretical level the corresponding chapters in the second and third books are not among the best. They describe extensively familiar truths but provide to study of the new, the efficient forms of competition and of organizing it on a truly economic basis. Nonetheless, ensuring the highest possible efficiency in the national economy as a whole and higher enterprise profits are organically related to the development of a great variety of forms of socialist competitiveness, as stipulated in the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Thus, in the course of broadening the autonomy of enterprises and converting wholesale trade into the most important form of material and technical enterprise procurements, the enterprises will have real freedom in choosing their suppliers. This should lead to the development of competitiveness on the market for the right to sell one's output, based on reducing outlays per unit of useful results. The activities of mixed enterprises (working together with foreign socialist enterprises or capitalist companies) will intensify the gravity of this situation. Under the conditions of a drastic increase in the demands of consumers, each enterprise must economically prove its ability to use the advantages of the socialist economic system and socialist ownership of means of production. Such problems must be focal point in the development of the theory of economic competition among enterprises.

In conclusion, let us mention yet another shortcoming of all three works. We pointed out that today the social sciences, including economic theory, must give us a "view of the future." According to the structure which was used in presenting the topics in these books,, this should have been reflected, in particular, in singling out approximate levels of development of the new economic mechanism and the solution of other problems of economic construction and social development. The lack of discussion of such problems today, after the question of the dialectics of restructuring and the stages in its development were formulated at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, clearly diminishes the importance of this work.

In addition to everything else, the monographs suffer from inaccuracies, and disparate interpretation of categories and processes and the use of obsolete approaches. All in all, however, it is not this that "makes the weather." In science, the success or failure of a study is judged not only on the basis of attained results but also the possibility of formulating tasks and problems. We believe that from this viewpoint the works under review deserve an overall positive assessment. They will be able to help a broad circle of readers in their scientific and practical activities.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 122-123

[Text] P.V. Moskovskiy and V.G. Semenov. "Lenin v Italii, Chekhoslovakii, Polshe" [Lenin in Italy, Czechoslovakia and Poland]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 173 pp. Reviewed by V. Petrov.

Seventy years ago, on 3 (16) April 1917, thousands of people--workers, soldiers, seamen--assembled under red flags on the square in front of the Finland Station in Petrograd: revolutionary Russian was enthusiastically welcoming the leader who had returned to the homeland. It was with this triumphant meeting that ended the political exile of V.I. Lenin who, during all those long years, had never broken his living ties with his country.

This long and dramatic period in Vladimir Ilich's life, marked by his tremendous work, is the topic of the book under review, with the publication of which Politizdat concludes the publication of a series of works on this topic (see P.V. Moskovskiy and V.G. Semenov, "Lenin in Finland," Moscow, 1977, 159 pp; Idem. "Lenin in France, Belgium and Denmark," Moscow, 1982, 199 pp; L.L. Muravyeva and I.I. Sivolap-Kaftanova, "Lenin in London." Moscow, 1981, 222 pp; Idem. "Lenin in Munich," Moscow, 1976, 207 pp; A.S. Kudryavtsev, L.L. Muravyeva and I.I. Sivolap-Kaftanova. "Lenin in Geneva," Moscow, 1985, 334 pp; Idem. "Lenin in Bern and Zurich," Moscow, 1972, 255 pp). Some of these works have already been reviewed in KOMMUNIST (No 6, 1983). In a compressed yet interesting manner, organically weaving into the fabric of their story numerous facts, the authors describe Lenin's activities in Italy, Czechoslovakia and Poland. As the authors emphasize, this was a time of intensive work on the creation and strengthening of a party of a new type after the failure of the 1905-1907 revolution, a bolshevik party, and a time of the development of revolutionary Marxist theory and preparations for a socialist revolution. In Italy, where Lenin went in April 1908 and July 1910, his main purpose, as proved by the researchers, was to correct fluctuations within the party and give ideological battle to mensheviks-liquidationist and otzovists. The polemics he conducted with them have been reflected in his outstanding work "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," which came out in 1909.

The book includes a number of outstanding and memorable events from the life of the founder of the Communist Party and Soviet state such, as those related

to the preparations for the 1912 party conference in Prague, which Lenin visited on three occasions. The reader will find interesting details on the proceedings of the conference, its rules and working conditions and life of the delegates.

The authors describe in detail the life of the great leader in Poland between 1912 and 1914. In that country alone Lenin wrote some 400 works for the legal and clandestine presses, not including his letters (see p 160). It was here that under his direct leadership two major party meetings were held. Reporting on one of them, held in Poronino, the RSDWP Central Committee wrote: "The path is marked. The party has found the basic ways of work in the current transitional age. Loyalty to the old revolutionary banner was tested and confirmed in the new circumstances and under the new working conditions. The hardest part is behind us, comrades. New time are coming. Events of the greatest importance are developing, which will determine the fate of our homeland" (p 137).

The parts describing Lenin's meetings with Gorkiy and with local revolutionary personalities, workers and peasants will be of unquestionable interest. The story on how carefully Lenin's memory is preserved by the working people in the countries where he stayed makes a great impression.

The Leninist topic is inexhaustible. This new book, which has collated and systematized materials scattered among numerous sources, will make it possible for the reader to gain a fuller and clearer idea of Lenin's biography and to become more profoundly aware of greatness of his exploit for the liberation of the toiling masses the world over from oppression and exploitation.

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 123-124

[Text] 1. "K. Marks, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin o Sotsialnoy Spravedlivosti" [K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin on Social Justice]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 303 pp.

2. Lenin, V.I. "Izbrannyye Sochineniya" [Selected Works]. In 10 volumes. Vol 8. October 1917 - May 1919. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 711 pp.

3. "V.I. Lenin o Velikoy Oktyabrskoy Revolyutsii" [V.I. Lenin on the Great October Revolution]. 4th edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 368 pp. ill.

4. Lenin, V.I. "Voyennaya Perepiska. 1917-1922 Gg." [Military Correspondence, 1917-1922]. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1987, 438 pp.

5. Gorbachev, M.S. "Za Bezyadernyy Mir, za Gumanizm Mezhdunarodnykh Otnosheniy" [For a Nuclear-Free World and for Humanism in International Relations]. Speech at the Kremlin meeting with participants of the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and for the Survival of Mankind," 16 February 1987. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 30 pp.

6. Gorbachev, M.S. "Perestroyka—Krovnoye Delo Naroda" [Restructuring is the People's Own Cause]. Speech delivered at the 18th USSR trade unions congress, 25 February 1987. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 31 pp.

7. "Tverdo Idti Dorogoy Perestroyki i Uglubleniya Demokratii" [Firmly Follow the Road of Restructuring and Intensification of Democracy]. Collection of materials from M.S. Gorbachev's trip to the Latvian and Estonian SSRs 17-21 February 1987. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 80 pp with illustrations.

8. "XXVII Syezd KPSS i Zadachi Kafedr Obshchestvennykh Nauk" [The 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Social Science Departments]. Materials of the all-union conference of heads of social science departments at higher educational institutions. Moscow, 1-3 October 1986. Editors: V.I. Zubarev (head), V.N. Donchenko and V.G. Kremen. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 269 pp.

9. Koyvisto, M. "Vekhi Puti" [Landmarks]. Views on Finnish foreign policy. Translated from the Finnish. Mezhdunar. Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1987, 214 pp.

10. Le Tuan. "Pisma na Yug" [Letters from the South]. Translated from the Vietnamese. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 303 pp.
11. "Marksistsko-Leninskaya Teoriya Istoricheskogo Protsessa" [The Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Historical Process]. Historical process: dialectics of the contemporary age. Yu.K. Pletnikov, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 448 pp.
12. "Nauchno-Tekhnicheskiye Programmy i Upravleniye Nauchno-Tekhnicheskimi Progressom v Sotsialisticheskikh Stranakh" [Scientific and Technical Programs and Scientific and Technical Progress Management in Socialist Countries]. V.N. Arkhangelskiy, general editor. Progress, Moscow, 1986, 389 pp.
13. "Novaya Tekhnokraticeskaya Volna na Zapade" [The New Technocratic Wave in the West]. Compiled and introductory article by P.S. Gurevich. Progress, Moscow, 1986, 450 pp.
14. "Otkuga Iskhodit Ugroza Miru" [Source of the Threat to Peace]. 4th edition. Voenizdat, Izdatelstvo APN, Moscow, 1987, 112 pp, illust.
15. "Problema Svobody i Prav Cheloveka v Sovremennoy Ideologicheskoy Borbe" [Rights and Human Freedoms in the Contemporary Ideological Struggle]. By a group of authors. D.A. Kerimov and V.M. Chkhikvadze, editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 319 pp.
16. "Rabochiy Klass v Mirovom Revolyutsionnom Protsesse" [The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process]. A.A. Galkin, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 336 pp.
17. "Razvivayushchiyesya Strany v Sovremennykh Mezhdunarodnykh Ekonomicheskikh Otnosheniyakh" [The Developing Countries Under Contemporary International Economic Relations]. I.O. Farizov, editor. Moscow University Press, Moscow, 1986, 288 pp.
18. Smirnitskiy, Ye.K. "Dvenadtsataya Pyatiletka" [The 12th Five-Year Plan]. Reference dictionary. 1986-1990. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 223 pp.
19. Tavrizyan, G.M. "Tekhnika. Kultura. Chelovek" [Technology. Culture. Man]. Critical study of the concepts of technical progress in 20th century bourgeois philosophy. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 200 pp.
20. Tolmachev, M.A. "Lyudi i Eksperiment" [People and Experiment]. From the experience of ideological support under new economic management conditions. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 95 pp.
21. Shmelev, N.P. "Vsemirnoye Khozyaystvo: Tendentsii, Sdvigi, Protivorechiya" [The World Economy: Trends, Shifts, Contradictions]. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 205 pp.

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READER'S TRUST AND TRUST IN THE READER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) pp 124-127

[Text] Communicating with the readers and feedback are features without which no journal can work. But how to establish such ties? Two traditional ways exist. The first is letters to the editors. Of late the journal's mail has more than doubled. Hundreds of responses were received to some articles, such as that of Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya (No 13, 1986). However, it is not merely a matter of the number of responses received by the editors to materials published in KOMMUNIST, but of their depth and thoughtfulness. Let us hear more frequently the competent views of scientists, social scientists above all. Why is it that for the time being they are insufficiently heard from? We sought answers to this and other questions at a readers' conference at Kiev State University imeni T.G. Shevchenko. On 21 January editors met with professors and teachers at that university and at the university's Institute for Upgrading the Skill of Social Science Teachers.

The conference was chaired by Docent L.M. Novokhatko, deputy university party committee secretary.

More Dialectics

The leitmotif of the conference was reminder of the need for constant and thoughtful efforts to master the Marxist dialectical method of knowledge and of transformation of reality. Most of the theoretical problems and unfinished projects which were discussed were the result of the insufficient attention paid by the social scientists to dialectics. This is fraught with the threat of an immediate development of a type of metaphysical thinking, alienated from life, manifested in a great variety of forms.

"Whereas not so long ago, during times we remember, the journal claimed to be infallible and to possess the ultimate truth, today we can see in its pages debates and the free discussion on a variety of opinions and comparison of views. This is extremely important," said A.A. Chukhano, UkSSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and head of the department of political economy of the departments of the humanities, Kiev State University. Today priority is given to the methodological aspect of Marxism: the problem of dialectics. The dialectical approach must imbue all social sciences and it is strange that

the social scientists, who systematically deal with such problems, have been entrapped by metaphysics in a number of problems.

Following are a few examples. For example, there is the absolutely accurate statement that material production is the base of social life. Teachers of political economy have done everything possible to instill this in their students and have succeeded quite well. However, as implemented in economic plans, this accurate yet one-sidedly understood (sometimes simply memorized) theoretical concept has led to the fact that in recent decades the production plan was fulfilled at all cost, whereas one could fulfill or not fulfill the plan for social development and build or not build sociocultural projects. The reason was that the accurate concept of the leading role of material production cannot be implemented separately. It depends, the author emphasized, on nonproduction factors, on the social area, and neglect of the dialectical side of these aspects, as has been demonstrated today, causes most serious difficulties. For example, the unquestionable advantages of large-scale output compared with petty output, always and in everything, were impressed in the minds of the people like a dogma, with the help of their teachers. However, in addition to large-scale output, as was confirmed at the 27th Party Congress, we need small and medium-sized enterprises, which can rapidly reorganize themselves and redirect their output. The law on individual labor activity has been passed and a variety of cooperative forms of work are being developed. Any one-sided approach or absolutizing of one side inevitably leads not only to major theoretical and practical damages.

The suggestion submitted by Professor L.T. Levchuk, head of the department of ethics and aesthetics at the philosophy department, could be considered one of the ways of developing the dialectical method. He called for a comprehensive and integral interpretation of essential theoretical problems. For example, the problem of the nature of creative work is literally drowned in definitions (official referential Soviet publications alone offer some 50 definitions of creativity) and is scattered and lost among the various sciences.

Creativity must be interpreted comprehensively, as an integral process studied by the various sciences. According to L.T. Levchuk, the resulting conclusions would be of both theoretical and practical significance, encouraging the interest of the artistic intelligentsia in monographs and theoretical publications. We cannot have a factual and truly firm foundation, which is the only possible one in developing a new way of thinking, without developing a liking for and relying on true science, based on Marxist-methodology.

If a dialectical approach is needed in work on individual scientific and social problems, it must not be forgotten in considering the developments of overall Marxist theory. This question was already raised in particular at a readership conference held in Leningrad (October 1986). Its participants said that the journal should pay attention to the fact that the specific features of each of the components of Marxism are being ignored in the social sciences, as the result of which, for example, so far the object of scientific communism as a science has still not been defined. A similar appeal addressed to KOMMUNIST was also heard at the Kiev meeting, voiced by V.I. Polurez, head of the department of scientific communism of the IPK.

As was emphasized at the conference, the "narrow specialization" of social scientists is a major obstacle to the further successful development of the Marxist theory of society. S.V. Mochernyy, professor at the political economy department of the natural sciences departments of Kiev State University, described the existence of a "noman's land" between political economy and philosophy as one of the gravest problems in the social sciences. Although the theory of dialectical materialism was developed by the Marxist classics above all on the basis of the study of the capitalist production method, today, in his view, there are virtually no profound works on capitalist philosophical problems and on economic life in bourgeois society. The speaker expressed his great concern that a situation has currently developed in which the overwhelming majority of political economists are insufficiently aware of the method applied in dialectical materialism and few philosophers undertake the study of economic problems. Frequently political economists make extensive use of the word "dialectics" although no dialectics can be seen in their economic studies, for the laws of dialectics cannot be mechanically applied to the sum total of phenomena and processes under study.

The dialectical approach is a historical approach. The principle of historicism is a basic Marxist tenet. Today its implementation assumes tremendous political significance and is closely interwoven with problems of the development of criticism and of the critical and responsible attitude shown by the people toward reality.

The participants in the conference said that a historical approach is frequently ignored in the work of social scientists. S.V. Mochernyy raised the question of the need to consider social problems, as formulated by K. Marx in "Das Kapital," in their dynamics, in accordance with conditions prevailing in contemporary capitalism.

M.A. Varshavchik, professor, CPSU history department, IPK, discussed the central problem of the study of history. "In our party history science," he pointed out, "Lenin's idea that each social phenomenon must be related to specific historical experience has not been sufficiently applied. This violates a basic overall Marxist-Leninist methodological requirements. The result is the paradox that historical works are published which are essentially nonhistorical." Today the sciences of history and political economy, the speaker emphasized, have no right to avoid answers to questions which require the assessment of experience. We had a restructuring of the management system in the 1950s and the economic reform of 1965; efforts were made to introduce cost accounting in agriculture at the start of the 1970s. All of this awaits a critical evaluation and study.

One of the main features of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" is the task of formulating the dialectics of socialist society. V.I. Polurez suggested that the problem of periodization in its development be discussed.

The speakers at the conference repeatedly emphasized that the work of social scientists will be efficient and will help restructuring only if they undertake to analyze the historical reasons which led to the current deformations in the society.

Developing a scientific base for improving the style and methods of party work is of the greatest possible importance to social scientists and party workers. This topic was discussed by V.T. Pozdnyak, professor, department of CPSU history. He wished the journal to publish materials answering questions such as how, why, which way, why not otherwise (as compared to a simpler system of what, where and when?). The study of past experience, applied to the present and the future, is not only a necessary element in theory and a method with the help of which new scientific conclusions can be developed. The theoretical interpretation of contemporary processes and phenomena itself is becoming an organic component of practical experience. In particular, it helps us to determine which trends to develop or oppose.

The participants in the meeting not only named problems but also suggested specific methods through which the journal could formulate them. This includes the following: "The faster and more efficient application of the new approach could be helped by engaging in a profound and thorough survey of historical journals and history topics in literary journals" (M.A. Varshavchik).

Enhancing the Spiritual Principle in Man

This was another major range of problems which triggered interested discussions at the conference. All problems related to man, as we now know from personal experience, are of equal importance.

But how is it possible to encompass the infinite, for every individual is a microcosm and the facets of his being and, consequently, his problems are infinite. The most important among them at a given time must be defined. The concept of "social sphere" is quite broad, for which reason saying that "paying greater attention to the social sphere" has little meaning. That is precisely why social policy must be based on the study of what has become "most corrupt" in the social sphere, what has gotten out of hand and what requires urgent "repairs." What is the response of the social scientists?

The most difficult problem which our society is solving is to eliminate the existing gap between words and actions. In science this applies to the flourishing of meaningless rhetoric and the accumulation of essentially meaningless complex verbal structures.

The "assertion of a spirit of scientific research, consisting of heated and honest debates and discussions, becomes a reliable obstacle to fair-sounding speeches, scholasticism and psychological stereotypes which have sunk deep roots in the hearts of many of our people" (V.P. Bakumenko, senior teacher, department of journalism). If fair-sounding speeches and scholasticism are meaningless, what could one say about a developed way of life and behavior? This is one of the main "sensitive spots" in the social area.

In order to cleanse the moral and psychological climate in our society, the speaker said, we must eliminate negative phenomena such as slackness and a lack of balance, which frequently turn into criminal negligence of the type which made the Chernobyl and Novorossiysk tragedies possible.

The artistic intelligentsia plays a responsible role in shaping the spiritual atmosphere of the society. In order to understand changes in the moral aspect of his contemporaries, the social scientist must have a clear idea of the processes which are taking place in art, for instance. One of them was discussed by L.T. Levchuk. Today the works of many writers and poets, which were not published for many decades, are being returned to the readers. Unquestionably, this is a sign of deep respect for the Soviet people and an acknowledgment of the maturity of their conceptual views. This important process, however, in her opinion, neither could nor should take place without clear conceptual and political emphases.

Several speakers named among the problems which are being insufficiently discussed in KOMMUNIST the topics of young people and university students. "KOMMUNIST and Soviet journalism as a whole owe a great deal of work to those whom we describe as our future." Naturally, newspapers and journals publish a great deal of materials on young people, schools and institutes. However "we are telling the young how they should live, learn and dare and we are not always concerned with their ideas on such topics" (V.P. Bakumenko). This is yet another key problem and "touchy spot" in the social area.

Many suggestions were made to the journal on expanding problems of spiritual upbringing. Here are some of them: paying greater attention to the restructuring of higher and secondary education; indicating the role which universities and university education play under the new conditions; and reflecting more extensively problems of ideological struggle.

The Journal is a Common Project

The conference ended.... Many interesting ideas and new topics were suggested. They varied, for the individual speakers discussed above all their own scientific areas and what excited them as scientists. What do the readers expect of us? To "organize discussions," "raise the topic of," "be a pioneer," "lift a taboo,"...it is as though something bad exists in such areas if people ask for help in solving specific and important theoretical problems. There was nothing bad in this. The fact that the readers consider the journal an authoritative organ which can provide theoretical help is a confirmation of their trust in the editors. This assigns great responsibility to us. The other aspect of trust in the journal is relying on it as a kind of umpire, as a justice of the peace in society. Such moods are still quite strong.

The journal and its readers are engaged in a joint project which requires reciprocal support, maximal consideration and delicacy in the consideration of new ideas and approaches. The development of culture is a common project. In this case the editors, like the rest of our society, is very short of new and fresh approaches and daring people. The journal is not a judge but an organizer, a rostrum for creative thinking and a spokesman for progressive and innovative ideas. The source of these ideas comes from the readers themselves, the social scientists above all.

The editors try to reflect as completely as possible the views of the readers. In 1986 we received 1,021 requests for publications. Although essentially the journal bases its work on planned commissions, nearly one-third of some 360

articles or surveys published in the section "In My Opinion" were borrowed from letters to the editors.

In conclusion, let us point out that relations between the journal and the readers are beginning to be substantially reorganized and are developing as a dialogue, as joint creative projects. We consider this to be the only proper way.

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AFTER PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) p 127

[Text] The survey by F. Filippov "Sociologist's Guidelines. Notes on Studies of Problems of Soviet Youth in the 1980s" (see KOMMUNIST, No 8, 1986) and the responses to this article (Nos 12 and 15) were the topics of a discussion conducted in a sharp critical tone at a meeting of the bureau of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Philosophy and Law, chaired by A.G. Yegorov, departmental academic secretary. In the course of the discussion a wide range of problems were raised on the political, labor, moral and legal upbringing of young people and features of their consciousness and psychology. Participating in the discussion were Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Members D.A. Kerimov and S.T. Melyukhin, Drs of Philosophical Sciences N.M. Blinov, A.G. Zdravomyslov and V.N. Ivanov, and Dr of Juridical Sciences V.Ye. Guliyev.

The relevance of problems related to the reform in public education, training young specialists, youth vocational guidance, and the accuracy of the question raised in the journal on upgrading the quality of sociological studies was noted.

A resolution was passed at the meeting on instructing the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research to discuss at a meeting of its scientific council the survey and other materials published in KOMMUNIST and to earmark specific steps for the implementation of the suggestions formulated in them and to raise with Izdatelstvo Nauka the question of the publication of annual collection of works on youth problems and make more extensive use of academic journals in reporting on studies conducted in this area.

The answer given by P.N. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, was that the USSR Academy of Sciences studied the questions raised in KOMMUNIST on problems of demography. The USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Economics is drafting a suggestion on creating within the USSR Academy of Sciences an institute for population and social problems, which will deal with demographic studies and social problems and will be in charge of advancing the science of demography.

The USSR Academy of Sciences deems it expedient to discuss the question of the condition of demographic research in the country together with the USSR

Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Labor and the USSR Central Statistical Administration, and to formulate jointly corresponding steps.

The USSR Central Statistical Administration discussed the article by S. Shatalin "All About Demography" (KOMMUNIST, No 12, 1986) and the letters to the editors on the subject of this article sent by A. Aganbegyan and L. Kostin (No 16) as well as the article by A. Vishnevskiy "The Human Factor in Its Demographic Dimension" (No 17). As M.A. Korolev, chief of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, reported to the editors, a set of steps aimed at the further improvement of the statistical base of demographic research has been planned. Subsequent to their discussion with the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Labor and USSR Academy of Sciences, the editors will be informed of the areas in which statistical information on the population will be broadened.

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CHRONICLE: MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 87 (signed to press 6 Apr 87) p 128

[Text] A roundtable meeting on the initial experience acquired and prospects of activities of agricultural firms--a new form of agroindustrial associations--was held at the house of culture of Adazhi Kolkhoz (Rizhskiy Rayon, LaSSR) on 18 March 1987. The roundtable meeting was organized by the editors of KOMMUNIST and KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII with the active participation of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. The managers of the three agrofirms, which were set up last autumn--A.E. Kauls, chairman of the Adazhi Kolkhoz-Agrofirm, L.P. Skosta, general director of the Agrofirm imeni XXV Syezda KPSS, and P.Ya. Zukulis, first deputy general director of the Krasnyy Oktyabr Agrofirm--described their work under the new economic conditions, the nature of arising problems and the ways to solve them. A number of practical considerations and suggestions were expressed by Adazhi Kolkhoz members who represented the various production, scientific and organizational services and public organizations. Participating in the discussion were L.A. Abel, head of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Agriculture Department, L.E. Freyber, head of the propaganda department, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, V.G. Brisis, first deputy chairman of the republic's gosagroprom, A.A. Kalnynsh, academician, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, V.N. Shtern, first secretary of the Rizhskiy Party Raykom and I.A. Upmals, chairman of the Riga RAPO.

A report on the roundtable meeting will be published in one of the forthcoming issues in this journal.

KOMMUNIST editors met with the party and propaganda aktiv of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Center for Biological Research (Pushchino, Moscow Oblast) at the house of scientists. Their discussion dealt in particular with problems of implementing the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Discussions dealt with restructuring, democratization of the life of Soviet society, the role of scientists in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the responsible tasks of science at the present stage. Members of the editorial board answered questions on the journal's creative plans.

A meeting between KOMMUNIST editors and the ideological aktiv of the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon City Party Committee in Moscow was held to discuss problems

of restructuring, democratization of social life and journal publications on problems of social justice.

KOMMUNIST was visited by a delegation of scientists, members of the German Communist Party, who are visiting the USSR on the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee to study the development of the scientific and technical revolution under socialist conditions. The guests from the FRG were interested in the implementation of CPSU strategy on the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, the system of steps for environmental protection and the state of ecological studies. Other problems which were discussed included the intensification of international cooperation in the solution of global contemporary problems.

How is restructuring in the social sciences, philosophy above all, understood in the USSR and what are the problems formulated by the CPSU in enhancing Soviet spiritual life? These and other questions were answered by members of the editorial board at a meeting with A. Kodzima, director of the Moscow bureau of the newspaper IOMIURI (Japan). The talk was attended by V.I. Stolyarov, vice president of the USSR Philosophical Society, doctor of philosophical sciences.

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